
DE LAUNE'S

P L E A

FOR THE

N O N - C O N F O R M I S T S ,

&c. &c.



A
P L E A

FOR THE
NON-CONFORMISTS,

SHEWING THE
TRUE STATE OF THEIR CASE;

AND HOW FAR THE CONFORMIST'S SEPARATION FROM
THE CHURCH OF ROME, FOR THEIR POPISH SU-
PERSTITIONS, &c. INTRODUCED INTO THE
SERVICE OF GOD, JUSTIFIES THE
NON-CONFORMIST'S SEPARA-
TION FROM THEM.

IN A LETTER TO DR. BENJ. CALAMY,
ON HIS SERMON CALLED SCRU-
PULOUS CONSCIENCE, IN-
VITING HERETO.

AND A PARRALLEL-SCHEME OF THE
PAGAN, PAPAL, & CHRISTIAN
RITES AND CERIMONIES.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
A NARRATIVE OF THE SUFFERINGS UNDERWENT.

BY THOMAS DE LAUNE.

*With a Preface by the Author of the Review—and
a Preface to the Ballston Edition.*

BALLSTON, SARATOGA COUNTY:
RE-PRINTED BY WILLIAM CHILD, AT THE
PRINTING-OFFICE, NORTH OF
THE COURT-HOUSE.

1800.



P R E F A C E

TO THE BALLSTON EDITION.

THE principal occasion for publishing a new Edition of this Book at present, is as follows: A certain gentleman in the vicinity of the town, having a borrowed one in possession, and supposing it would be of some consequence to me in my public dispute with Mr. ROGERS, very generously conveyed it to me. The book among others was taken to the Court-House, and when I had occasion to read a passage or two in it, I perceived Mr. Rogers to be uncommonly agitated; and I had no sooner laid it down but he took it up, and began to peruse it, turning over the pages very hastily. When the dispute closed, which was in the dusk of the evening, I took two of my books in my hand, and distributed the rest to some of my brethren. On our return, I enquired for that one; but they uniformly declared, that I never delivered it to them; upon which I concluded, that it must have been left with Mr. Rogers's books upon the rostrum in the Court-House, which remained there as I have been informed till the next morning. — But notwithstanding particular enquiry has been made, I could never see nor hear of it since; and finding it impossible to procure another for the owner without reprinting, I concluded that if it was planted it should produce a good crop.

However, when the Proposals for that purpose came out, Mr. Rogers published in the news-papers

terrible manifesto against it ; declaring the book to be a *false, seditious, and scandalous libel against the Church of England* ; that the author was a man of a bad character, a lying malicious, peevish school-master ; a man of great turbulence, and uncommon want of candor ; that he knowingly, wilfully, and maliciously belied and scandalized the Church of England, quoting authors which never existed, and almost invariably quoting those falsely from which he pretended to make extracts. And further, that some of our pious non-conformists, out of their very sincere and religious regard for falsehood, sedition and scandal, preserved some copies of this book ; and out of the same regard sent them over to America ; here the non-conformists, knowing the book to be false, seditious, and scandalous, had it re-printed, &c. The rest of the piece, contained some high encomiums on the pious proceedings of the British government against the book and its pernicious author ; as also a very illeberal and bitter reflection upon the Printer, provided he should consent to the publishing of such notorious lies to the world ; all which, however, received an answer at the time according to its folly.

But some exclaim—what need of publishing this book now ; does it not tend to disturb society, and create difficulties, in neighborhoods, in families, &c. and besides, that spirit of persecution which prevailed when it was wrote, has since subsided, and we have no reason ever to fear any such thing in our country ; and Mr. Rogers has said, that we must not charge the parent's faults upon the children. In regard to peace, and charging the children with the parents' faults, I reply with *Jehu* to

Joram—*What peace so long, &c.* If the children are not actually guilty of these evils, yet if they knowingly support the principles which produced them, they are certainly culpable; and if they have done it inadvertently, it is our duty to endeavour to inform them better. With regard to persecution we ought to remember—Thy mother is a lioness—she lay down among lions—she nourished her whelps among young lions—and though she has now grown old, and her teeth and nails are in a measure worn out, and her hope hath been for a while cut off in our country, it is more than probable that she may yet nourish some of her whelps, which may hereafter learn to catch the prey and devour men. It is certain, that civil and religious tyranny, and liberty, rest upon the same foundations they did when this book was first published; the same rules and maxims will apply in their full force on both sides of the question; and the great struggles now in the political world, and which will soon decide the whole Ecclesiastical system, originate in the same principles which operated then, and produced those terrible calamities in the British nation.

It is also as certain, that government in church and state is founded on the same principles, every system in the one finds its mate in the other; thus monarchies and aristocracies in both, will cordially unite with each other for mutual support and defence, and hence the kings of the earth, are said to commit fornication, with the whore of Babylon. It is therefore, to the operation of the principles on which these two governments are founded, that all the corrupt combinations between church and state—all religious establishments—all civil and

ecclesiastical impositions, and all the persecutions that have ever appeared in the world is to be imputed.

If any system of religion obtains an establishment under a mixed government, it is certain evidence, that the monarchical and aristocratical parts of the constitution, overbalance the rights and liberties of the people; and that the body of the nation cannot properly be considered as the people, but only such whose principles and practice, come within the bounds of the established religion; and this is the case in Great-Britain. A certain episcopal writer has observed, that "in our common idea of the English church, the body of the people is hardly included. It is supposed to consist of the King as supreme head of Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Deacons, Deans, Archdeacons, Convocations, Chancellors, Treasurers, Praeceptors, Prebendaries, Canons, Petty Canons, Rectors, Vicars, Curates, Chaplains, Chorists, Organists, Parish Clerks, Vergers, Sextons, &c. Now in a large sense these are all supposed to belong to the church; but in a more confined sense, the church commonly signifies the Clergy alone, as distinguished from the laity."* The English Clergy then, and these other officers are the church, but what are the people? They have a name, or a bare existence in the church it is true; but as to power, or privilege they are mere cyphers there; and the constitution being a compound of politics and religion, united for the sake of mutual and par-

* *Attempt to explain the words, reason, substance, person, creeds, &c. by a Presbyterian of the Church of England.*—p. 157.

allel advantages ; it cannot be supposed, that the state should fully recognize those who do not conform to the religion which it has established for its own interest. And since that religion is every way subversive of liberty, it is an almost infalliable evidence of some grand error in the state respecting the rights of men, for otherwise it would have established no religion at all ; nor could it ever have been made an instrument of persecution by any church whatever. True religion and reason, operating in church and state, never seek for conquest by fire and sword, neither for their own interest in the persecution and destruction of others ; but in a rational and benign influence, perfectly congenial to the civil and religious interests, and happiness of all mankind, exposing at the same time error and vice, in all their hateful colours. But to return, the church and state in Great-Britain by virtue of the constitution, become both one,* excepting

* *The dissenters have frequently distinguished the church and state in the constitution, justifying the state and condemning the church ; hoping thereby to obtain their liberty, and get the advantage of their ecclesiastical enemies without being exposed to the charge of sedition. While others in the established church, wishing for a reformation, & finding that neither reason nor revelation made any impression on the ruling party, have considered them one, as they really are, the church, however, being the subordinate part ; hoping thereby to prevail on the state part, to reform the church part, and yet themselves appear strict friends to the constitution ; but neither of them can effectually obtain their end, but by a thorough revolution in the state.*

that the church is made the subservient part.—

† “Many of the evils” says the writer above referred to, “that we have long complained of, proceed from a distinction which we commonly make when talking of our constitution, we divide it into church and state, as if the church were something quite different from the state; whereas by our constitution, the church both in its ministers and the administration of its offices, is as much a part of the state, and as subject to it, as the lawyers and the law, as the merchants and their trade. Our kings and parliaments have often made our ecclesiastics know that they are entirely subject to them, and derive their offices and revenues from them. Queen Elizabeth deprived several bishops, and in her polite phrase threatened to unfrock others. And king Edward VI. granted patents to bishops, to continue, and act in their office while they behaved well; and many instances are not wanting since, of bishops suffering capital punishments for crimes committed against the state. So that the popish doctrines of the divine rights of episcopacy, of uninterrupted successions, and indelible characters, have been long ago quite exploded in our church.” It is therefore evident, that by the constitution the church and state are united in one body, of which the king is the supreme head, and as a king or head of the state part, he possesses a divine right to assume the headship of the church part; or to officiate in the character and capacity of the highest ecclesiastic in the whole realm. The pope supports the same thing in nature, but turns it end for end; pretending to derive his ecclesiastical authority and

headship of the church by an uninterrupted succession from the apostles, and as the head of the church to possess a divine right to rule the state, and to officiate in the character and capacity of the highest magistrate in the whole world. Thus both of these governments suppress the rights of the people, their respective heads contending in competition for divine right ; one in the civil, and the other in the ecclesiastical line. One would be pope and king, the other would be king and pope. How necessary is it then, to support the British constitution, that the divine rights of episcopacy by uninterrupted succession should be exploded as erroneous and antichristian, as is hinted by this author, and the king be supposed to have authority to create, and depose bishops, and regulate all the affairs of the church ; and another episcopal writer has intimated, that the reason why some of the dissenters have thought it necessary to make out a succession of church officers, is because they denied the authority of the king in such matters.*

This is giving a home thrust indeed, to the views and feelings of many of the Episcopal clergy in our country at the present day ; but what follows from the writer first referred to, is a mortal poison upon the point of the arrow. "The word church is often expressed by another Greek word, *Ecclesia*, which cannot signify any thing but the assembly, or the congregation ; yet it has for many ages been set down to signify those particular christians, who have been appointed by the rest to officiate in divine things, to pronounce the prayers of the congregation, and to read and explain the word of God

* *Coun. Lawy. Letter.*

to them. And those Ecclesiastics have assumed to themselves the distinguishing appellation of the clergy, from another Greek word, which signifies lot, or inheritance, as if they were the peculiar lot or inheritance of God; and from being at first the ministers or servants of the people, and from receiving voluntary salaries, and stipends, to support them in doing their duties, have raised themselves by insensible degrees to such height of authority and power under the name of the church, as to determine judiciously for the rest of the congregation what they are to believe, and to do in religious affairs, and claim these wages of the people as their own by divine right. But as there is not the least trace of their names, their authority, or their stipends in the holy scripture, we must look for their origin in the councils and decrees of after ages; when the power of the clergy was said to be above all other powers, and they attained to be the lords and disposers of both worlds, the present and the future." Our Episcopalians will doubtless be loth to believe, that such testimonies as these should ever come from the pens of their own writers: I could however produce them by the hundred, if time and place would admit of it, and it were necessary. But let the reader attend to what follows:

If the main pillars of Popery, are indelible characters, and the divine rights of Episcopacy, or of the Ecclesiastical orders handed down by uninterrupted succession from the Apostles, through the several ages of the christian æra; and this notion of succession and divine right, totally excludes both the magistrate and the people from any share in the regulations of the church, as plainly appears from

what we have observed in the foregoing pages, and even goes so far, as to bring the church and state into one body under its sovereign lord the pope ; then all those of whatever name, or country, or denomination, who plead for an uninterrupted succession of Ecclesiastics, are so far Papists in the highest sense of the word, and let them shift and turn which way they will they cannot avoid the conclusion. It will afford them no relief to say, that the succession was handed down from Paul instead of Peter, or in England rather than Rome, since both of these opinions are equally founded on clerical independence, and are productive of the same consequences. And besides, what sense is there in pleading for the divine right of the clergy, and the divine right of the king at the same time, and in the same case ; the nature of the thing therefore determinès, that the pope will be both civil and ecclesiastical lord, or the king must. It follows, then, that both the English and American episcopals, and all those who pattern after them, since they deny the people under Christ, to be the source of ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction, are under the most imperious necessity, to support the divine right of kings against popish successions ; or in a word, to renounce their constitution, and own at once that the pope is infallibly right ; for indeed to deny the kings' authority in this case, would rip up the very foundation of their church, and set things upon the same footing they stood upon before the reformation.

But if this reasoning is just, as I think it is, I query how people who adopt such religious principles, can in any wise be friends to a true republican government ? To support an absolute

monarchy in the church, such as popery with its uninterrupted succession is, & yet at the same time to deny its parrallel in politics, and turn about, and support something directly the reverse in that line, is as one expressed himself in another case—*genuine rectified spirit of mystery!* And to unite with a church, and endeavour to support a religion, or any draught or pattern taken from it, of which the king is the supreme head, and claims that exalted character by divine right; and yet deny the propriety of a kingly government, and endeavour to set up, and maintain, or even be friendly to one which is every way subversive of such authority and prerogative, is equally absurd and astonishing. And further, if we adopt our religion from a conviction of its being founded on revelation, then its parrallel in politics to us must be reason, for otherwise we shall make reason and revelation clash with each other, and set the works of Jehovah in the two systems of nature and grace at the utmost variance in their respective operations. When therefore, episcopalians pretend to be republicans, or republicans to be episcopalians, I am obliged to consider such a glaring inconsistency, as the fruit of inattention to the nature of things, or to a settled design of concealing their real sentiments, either in respect to politics or religion.

We should also do well to consider, that the same reasons which render it impossible for a constitutional episcopalian to be a true friend to liberty, render it equally impossible to reconcile the genuine principles of dissent from the English church, to an arbitrary government, or an established religion; and hence the religion of the dissenters, and particularly of the baptist denomina-

sion, has always been considered as unfriendly to monarchy, and often persecuted in the most violent manner on that account, as I could now show from a variety of documents in my possession. I conclude therefore, that when any of our leading politicians appear to be *staunch churchmen* they ought to be watched with a jealous eye; for neither they nor any of the patrons of their religion, ever had more reason to believe that our religion would tend to subvert their politics, overthrow their government, and introduce a system of universal anarchy, as they call it, but in real truth of freedom to mankind; than we have to believe that their religion now tends to subvert our politics, interrupt our government, and produce a system of universal tyranny in our country. And indeed, they themselves cannot deny, but their religion leads them directly to measures which favour the English constitution; and was that once adopted, we might in a course of time, look for kings and convocations, for test and corporation acts, and in fine for all those tragical scenes of persecution to be acted over in this country, which have heretofore been displayed in Great-Britain with so much cruelty and bloodshed. It is more than probable however, that some of our episcopalians may yet doubt the truth of these observations; and if so, I would observe, that it certainly has such an effect upon some of their priests, as they may plainly see in Mr. Rogers's invectives against this book and its author. DE LAUNE had only accepted one of their own challenges, and candidly and ingeniously made his defence, in such a manner as they could answer him, neither by reason nor revelation, and yet he is charged of *unlawfully, seditiously, and*

maliciously, writing, printing, and publishing, and causing to be written, printed, and published, a certain false, seditious, and scandalous libel, of, and concerning the said lord the king, the book of common prayer, &c. which indeed was said to be bringing the king into contempt, and breaking the public peace by *force and arms, &c.* and for which he was condemned, fined, and caused finally to perish with his whole family in a loathsome and horrid prison. And has not Mr. Rogers, apparently fired with the same spirit, stepped up and declared in the most peremptory manner, that all this was justly done?

Moreover, the English constitution cannot be supposed to have virtue and piety in view, in its religious establishments; for as Blackstone observes,—* “When an ordained priest,” or as he explains it, “a clerk in orders, is presented to a personage, or vicarage, the bishop may refuse him upon many accounts; but if he objects a fault that is *malum prohibitum*, as haunting taverns, playing at unlawful games or the like, it is not good cause of refusal.” And a certain gentleman, who had been an episcopal preacher for many years, has observed in a farewell sermon—“† That the clergy of the church of England, are not only in general irregular in their lives, but most of them erroneous in their doctrines”—and in a note he adds —“What an awful prophane character, is a swearing, drunken clergyman?—And are there none such in the church of England?—How dare such persons attempt the instruction of others?”—

* *Comment, vol. 1, p. 389.*

† *Slees' Serm. v. 17.*

And again, he says—" the persons admitted to the communion are all the parish, who are required to communicate three times in a year. And it is notorious to all sober people, that the far greater part of these are incapable of discerning the Lords body, and have neither part nor lot in this matter. And suppose a minister should deny the communion to a common drunkard, or a prophane swearer, he would find himself in a perilous case." And further in a note—" are there not some churches at which many receive the communion on Easter-day, who will be drunk the same day, and perhaps quarrelling too before they arrive at home." And with regard to baptizing or christening he says—" whoever seriously reflects upon the feasting, drinking, dancing, and other bacchanalian merriments so common at many christenings, will be persuaded that this is not looked upon as a Divine Ordinance among the episcopal clergy and their people." I know there are sometimes wicked ministers and people in all christian communities ; but does the constitution admit them there ; does it support and maintain such characters, if so, away with it ; but if it exterminates them at once when discovered, it manifests notwithstanding all this, a friendly disposition to true virtue and piety.

I have now gone through with the principal things which I intended, which was to give the reasons I had for the republication of this book, and to show that an episcopal monarchy being alone and solitary, would as naturally seek for its mate and endeavour to connect itself with it, as would any other species of being in creation ; and that people whose religion is rooted in such a constitution, cannot consistent with that be true friends

to liberty and freedom. But on the whole I must add, that the two constitutions of Rome and England appear to me like two families—one where the husband rules—and the other where the wife rules—and yet both are united with their respective companions by a similar contract; and though there is now and then a fracas between them, as there is sometimes between a man and his wife, and also between the two families; yet the nature of things, and their mutual interests forbid them to part; and often bring the families to so good an understanding, as to freely borrow and lend, to fight and contend for each other, as is actually the case at the present day.* The reader,

* *The British Government being obliged for the security of its existence, to unite with the combined powers against the revolution, every observer may see, that notwithstanding its fame for liberty and freedom, it is far more congenial to monarchy and popery. Indeed we have now the fairest opportunity to determine the true nature and spirit of all civil and ecclesiastical schemes and constitutions of government, and of all the principles and practices which are spreading and prevailing in the world. What a curious game have some of the clergy in New-England been playing for a year or two past. In the old French war heaven was invoked for the success of the English arms to keep off popery. In the Ameican war it was also invoked for the success of the French for the same purpose; and yet the French and English were of the same religion still. And now they are imputing the revolution to French infidelity and atheism, for fear it will overthrow their Ecclesiastical aristocracy.*

however, for his final satisfaction upon these subjects at large, will carefully attend to *DE LAUNE*, whose excellent *Plea*, says a learned writer, *actually defies all reply*.

From the history of the English Baptists, it appears that *De Laune* was one of their denomination, and ought to be held in everlasting remembrance by them ; and though his persecutors loaded him with reproach and scandal, he was in truth a man of a much better moral character than any of them all. The reader will find nothing in his book of that lying, malicious spirit which Mr. Rogers has charged him with ; it is wrote with candour and moderation, and when an author is quoted, we are told who he is, and for the most part are referred to the book and page. In short, if candidly writing a book in favour of the dissenters in Great-Britain, was fomenting sedition, bringing the king into contempt, &c. why might not the writing of a similar one in America in favour of Episcopacy, be received in the same light here ? I have hinted at this before, and the consideration in my opinion, is sufficient to confirm all that I have said concerning the Episcopal form of government ; but since our constitution is averse to religious establishments, and foreign to persecution, the Episcopalians themselves may see how much happier they are in America, than ever the dissenters were, or ever can be in Great-Britain, till a revolution has brought things there into a state similar to ours. I will also venture to affirm, that notwithstanding all the reproach, disgrace, and contempt which the Baptists have laboured under in different ages and places in the world, that their constitution has ever stood the test, and ever will.

Founded on reason, and revelation, parallel to our political system, detecting tyranny and oppression supporting the rights and liberties of all mankind, the powers of earth and hell, though they may for a while suppress, yet they cannot utterly destroy it. And hence I conceive, that every professing Baptist is bound by the strongest constitutional ties to be a good christian, and a good citizen ; or in other words, a *heartly* friend to *reason* and *revelation*, or in plain words, a *true* and *genuine* republican both in church and state affairs, and if any of the denomination depart from these, I cannot believe them worthy of a name and place in our churches. Indeed, this is the time for which the fathers of our persuasion with some others, have been looking for ages. God has promised in his word, and they therefore expected, that the time was coming when the tyrannies of the earth should be dissolved, and a system of politics should spread through the world in harmony with true religion and the rights of mankind ; and the answer they have had in the revolution in our day, is enough to convince every considerate person that God of a truth is on our side, and will defend our cause. Dear readers, of whatever denomination you are—were your fathers ever persecuted for their religion ; were they loaded with galling chains, cramped in cold prisons, pinched with hunger and thirst, and treated with every kind of abuse, till at last bound to the stake, they were consumed in flames, or failing nature sunk beneath the insupportable burden and expired ; while their dear families stript of every enjoyment in life, made Widows and Orphans, wandered or were driven about in distress and desperation ? Shall we pause a moment, and *drop a tear into the*

ocean of their sorrows ? Oh ! how they wished, they groaned, they longed, for the priviledges which we enjoy ; and yet how little do we prize them ! What a sweet relief, would such a revolution as we have had in America, have been to poor *Thomas De Laune* and his fellow sufferers ? And yet Mr. Rogers says he suffered justly !—What is the mans heart made of, or what is his religion ? And since the revolution, the old members of the church of Antichrist, discovering themselves to have been a nest of infidels under the christian name, and finally appearing in their open infidelity, so much better friends to reason and the rights of mankind, than they did when under the mask of religion, or than those do, who would still maintain their Ecclesiastical and civil tyrannies, that these men unfriendly to truth, and ashamed of being exposed in such a manner, have set out with all their might to persuade the world, that the whole revolution, root and branch, is founded in infidelity and atheism, and of consequence that all those who endeavour to support and maintain it deserve no better name or appellation.

But I have already far exceeded my design, I have however one or two things more to observe, and a thousand others which I hardly know how to lay aside. Whether our Episcopalians will have charity enough to believe that I do not consider them in the gross, as bad as their constitution, I cannot say ? Far from that however,—I always endeavour to distinguish between men and things ; I believe as I have said before, that there are amongst them, many real christians, ministers and people, good, honest, just, judicious, upright citizens and neighbours ; but in all these things they

are foreign to their constitution ; and many who pretend to be Baptists, are quite as inconsistent on the other hand. People who are ever so honest and judicious, if they adopt their religious principles without due examination ; if they are taken in and led away by flattery in disguise, or are overawed by clerical importance, can never be expected to be sufficiently independent to speak and act out that which truth and reason dictates. But finally, I must beg the reader in condescension to the multiplicity of business, and difficulties, which I have on my hands at present, to be so candid, as to pardon the errors and mistakes, either of the language, or composition of what I have here written ; there is one thing more however which I have to observe concerning the book. I was confident, that it was asserted in the preface to that which I lost at the Court-house, that the book had been printed at least seventeen times ; but the edition I have procured since, and which appears to have been taken from the same, as that was, says seven times ; but the history of the English baptists has confirmed it to be seventeen times, so that instead of eight or ten, as mentioned in the proposals, it went through seventeen editions, and according to the preface never received a reply ; and still it remains and ever will remain invulnerable to the attacks of its most potent and formidable enemies.

I am with all due respect,

The Public's humble servant,

And well wisher in the Gospel,

ELIAS LEE.

BALLSTON, June 16th, 1800.

P R E F A C E

[BY THE AUTHOR OF THE REVIEW]

TO THE READER.

THIS book has been printed at least seven times, and without doubt if the adversaries of the *dissenters*, were for coming to the test, either of *scripture*, *reason* or *antiquity*, it would before now have received some answer.

It is one of their own challenges accepted, the reasons for our *dissenting* are fairly, modestly, and closely applied; if saying nothing be taken *pro confesso*, the gentlemen of the church of England would do well, to consider of some mediums to defend Dr. Calamy, or ingenuously own he was fairly confuted.

There remains nothing to be added to the arguments, until some attempts to confute them shall make a rejoinder necessary; nor, indeed, can the *dissenters* desire to have their case more fairly stated, or the conduct of their *adversaries* be more concurring to their justification.

When *arguments* drive the *opponents* into passions and excesses, like strong purges, 'tis a proof of their operation, that they cause griping pains in the very bowels of the patient.

To answer *sober* arguments with *four* coercives, to dispute by the *goal* and the *bang-man*, to

debate by the *prison*, and not by the *pen*; these have been the *peculiar* of the party; and the power of *persecution*, not of *persuasion*, has been the way of their usage to the dissenters.

The treatment the reverend and learned author of this book met with, will forever stand as a monument of the cruelty of those times; and they that affirm the *dissenters* were never persecuted in *England* for their religion, will do well to tell us what name we shall give to the usage of *this man* of merit, than whom few *greater scholars*, *clearer heads*, or, *greater masters* of argument ever graced the English nation.

I am sorry to say, he is one of near eight thousand *protestant dissenters* that perished in prison in the days of that merciful Prince, King *Charles* the second; and that merely for *dissenting* from the church, in points, which they could give such reasons for, as *this plea*, assigns; and for no other cause were stifled, I had almost said *murdered*, in goals for their *religion*, in the days of those gentlemen's power, who pretend to abhor *persecution*.

His fellow prisoner, Mr. *Jenkins*, most humbly petitioned on the mere account of *sickness*, to be removed to some other place for air, upon *unquestioned* securities of being surrendered again to any prison that should be appointed, and could not obtain that common compassion from the mercy of that *unpersecuting age*; but died under the cruel hands of these *persecutors*, merely by the stench and contagion of an unwholesome confinement.

Let those gentlemen, who have been forward to threaten us, with long accounts of *parliamentary* persecutions in the time of the civil wars here, remember, they cannot show, neither then, nor in

any former time, no, not if they throw in the days of queen *Mary*, any thing like such a number of christians, (*for I must not call them martyrs*) that suffered death for their religion; from whence I have often recommended it to them, to forbear putting us upon comparing the accounts, and entering into the melancholy detail of the particulars.

Let any man of religion judge by the story of this gentleman, what those people drive at, who re-pine at the TOLERATION, and who so many ways, have attempted the *reversing, contracting or invading* it.

Let any man judge, whether it was not time to put an end to these exorbitances in general, and whether a legal TOLERATION was not absolutely necessary, to screen even the church of *England*, herself, from the scandal of those men, who acted under her *authority*, so much against *her principles*.

It is known and professed, that *persecution* merely for *conscience*, is contrary to the *principles* of the *christian religion*, and the *doctrine* of the church of *England*; who they were, that persecuted in those days, we all know; and with what real design to destroy the church of *England* itself, is plain; how they acted all against the the very principles of the church, is plain; but that they acted under the *church's authority*, in her name, debauched *her clergy* to fall in with the *hellish project*, made use of *her Ecclesiastical courts* to put their wicked designs in execution, 'till the world could hardly discern, whether it was the church's act and deed, or no, to the indelible scandal of the clergy of those times, is a truth too plain to be debated.

Nor was the design concealed any longer, than to the first occasion which happened to discover it ; The first step the late king *James* took, was to turn the tables, and put an opportunity in the hands of the dissenters, fully to revenge themselves, and thinking them sufficiently provoked by *innumerable insults and barbarities*, it was not doubted, but when they were prompted to *expose and reproach* the church with their *former usage* they would obey *humane nature*, and willingly do it.

But I appeal to those *reverend and dignified prelates* concerned in it, some of whom are yet alive, whether Mr. *White*, who had carefully collected the list of the *dissenters, sufferers and sufferings*, did not generously refuse both their *invitations and rewards*, and conceal the *black record*, that it might not rise up in judgment against the reputation of the church of *England* ; and whether they did not send Mr. *White* their thanks for it, and a reward too, though he had honour enough in him to refuse the *money*.

Nothing but a LEGAL TOLERATION could defend the church of *England* from the scandal of a *persecuting principle*, and I cannot but think, her majesty's repeated promises, INVIOLABLY TO PRESERVE THE TOLERATION, and the heads of the church adhering to the same resolution, is as much an honour to the church, as it is a security to the dissenters.

Her majesty is in this a true defender of the principles of the church of *England*, as well as of the general protestant faith ; in that by this account, the church is cleared from the black imputation of a *persecuting church*, too cunningly fixed upon

her by the unwariness of her *clergy*, and the projects of *tyrannic princes*.

It is plain, the church of *England* abstracted from the arbitrary influences of *courts*, *parties* and *projects*, abhors cruelty and persecution ; and that share she had in such an *odious practice*, has been the *deepest plot* against her *very constitution*, that ever the *devil* had a hand in.

But by this, her best defenders may see, what need there is of the *restraint* of laws, to curb the advanced fury of some men ; who to gratify private spleen, to carry on parties, and to pursue *public designs*, to the general loss and decay both of *religious* and *civil liberty*, are content to hazard the church's reputation, and push her upon acting even against her *own principles*, as well as against the *fundamental constitution* on which she is built ; I mean, the *christian religion* in general.

The act of *TOLERATION*, therefore, is not only an *ease* to the *dissenters*, but to the *church* itself ; in whose pale were always to be found some, who, though they profess the *doctrine* of the *church*, were not ashamed to act so much against her *interest* and *reputation*, as to be made tools of power, and submit to the scandalous employment of *plundering* their bretheren, under colour of *that*, which the very *doctrine* of the church abhors.

This brings me of course to consider, what sort of people they are, and what they drive at, who exclaim against, would rescind, limit, restrain, or lessen the *TOLERATION* ; to me, it seems plain, such people can no longer be esteemed friends to the church, since they would again dip their hands in blood, and put her upon the prac-

tice of *that*, which has been *so scandalous* to her already.

Let such but consider, the use the enemies of the church of *England* formerly made of it, and how diligently they laboured, to fix the scandal upon the church, of being of a *persecuting spirit*. Let them remember, what the end and design of the *papists* in king *James's* time was, and why they laboured to get from the *dissenters*, the list of their sufferings and sufferers, of which Mr. *White*, as is before mentioned, generously refused them, although great rewards were offered him, to make it public.

Why did the politicians of those days, think such an account would be serviceable to them? but because they knew the publication of it would be *scandalous* to the church; that it would make her appear practising what she did not profess, and acting against her very foundation principles?

How diligent have some people been in this age to run back upon the church, and upbraid her with persecution, even in the very age, in which she had suffered the fire and faggot of queen *Mary*, and even in the infancy of her reformation under king *Edward* the sixth. *

How had the *protestants* upbraided the *Romish* religion as bloody and inhuman? and how, too justly, did these again retort the charge, by instances which I desire not to repeat? even when *protestantism* was but just got out of the hands of *ghostly tyranny*, and had but lately obtained rest from the *act de heretecia comburendo*.

* *Vid: Stephen's pamphlet-letter to the author of the state memorial. p. 3, 4.*

And to sum up all, why were the reverend clergymen of the church of *England*, so grateful and thankful to Mr. *White's* charity and generous refusal? but that they had just reason to be ashamed of the practice, and were unwilling to be put to any blushes, for the misbehaviour of their mistaken friends, who had ignorantly, as well as rashly, loaded the church, with the indelible reproach of *persecution*?

The reverend author of this book, is indeed, a sad instance of the excesses things were driving to in that age; but whatever excuses I can make for the church of *England*, as being drawn in by some of her members, to act against her own principle, I can frame no excuse either from reason, honour, circumstance or any thing else to defend Dr. Calamy.

The reader will see here his open challenge, with what assurance made, with what ostentation published, and how necessary to be answered; on the other hand how modestly, how closely, how directly answered, and as I can add nothing to the Argument, so it is not capable of any greater illustration, than what is to be found in itself.

But I name it, to obviate a vulgar and very mean objection, viz. What occasion had Mr. *De Laune* to embroil himself? And this, as a common allegation against all *public spirits* and *public good*, I must speak to, being the general excuse of such, as make use of it to defend themselves against espousing, or assisting those, that expose or ruin themselves for the service of their country; let us therefore examine the necessity of his writing.

Had Dr. *Calamy's* allegation past unanswered, had a challenge to the dissenters to *argue modestly* &c. been neglected: had it been dropped, and not-

ing but silence on their part been the reply, what arguments for *persecution*, had here been put into the mouths of the enemies of their peace: and how rational had it been to have argued, that their *dissenting* was from mere *obstinacy* and *pertinacious* espousing *notions* they could not defend; that they avoided to **dispute and argue modestly*, to *propound their doubts*, or *meekly to hear*: to, and *receive instruction*; that their judgements were *biassed by evil affections*, *love of a party*, or *carnal interest*.

How forward would all men have been, to have challenged the *dissenters* daily to come, and show reasons for their *non-conformity*, and upbraided them with †*refusing to bear both sides*, and to *lay aside prejudices and favour to men or parties*, *consider and enter into the argument on both sides*?

Had no body replied to this, what must the *dissenters* have been thought? how would the clamour of their being *obstinate*, *without principle*, *forming designs against the church*, and *dissenting on politic not religious accounts*, have prevailed in the minds of men, and the necessity of their being suppressed made rational to the common people.

The great artifice of those times, was to bring the *persecution of dissenters* to appear necessary, and to expose them as a *people dangerous to the state*, as well as the *church*: and nothing could have gone farther towards making this easy, and plain to the vulgar apprehension, than to have the dissenters silenced in argument, be challenged from

* *Calamy's sermon twice preached, and afterwards printed, entitled scrupulous consciences, p. 25.*

† *Ibid. p. 25.*

the pulpit, and stand condemned as obstinate people; that being not able to justify their *non-conformity*, by reason or argument, had obtained that character by their own concessions.

These things thus calculated to incense the mob against the *dissenters*, and to justify the severities designed them; and, which at this very time, were begun to be put in practice, seem to me entirely to clear up the necessity there was to enter the lists which this new invader, who had indicted all the *dissenters* of contumacy, obstinacy, ignorance and ungrounded prejudice: If it was not a season to appear, if nobody should advocate for them, when then should be the proper *junction*? When should the champions of religion defend her? but when they find the foundation struck at, when they find the enemies forces drawn up, and insulting. When should *David* take up his sling against *Goliath*? but when he found him defying the hosts of *Israel*.

I could go on to illustrate this necessity, by the exceeding check this attempt gave to the fury of these railing parties; how the *Goliaths* of that time ceased their insults with this *experiment*; and they were so far from making any more challenges, that they never made the least reply to this; thus the necessity and the success of this attempt make out one another.

Two considerations fall here in my way, to speak to, relating to the treatment of this great man.

First, Dr. *Calamy's* usage of him was certainly to the last degree dishonourable, who first challenged him in print, for he challenged *the whole body of dissenters*; and therefore him amongst the rest; as follows:—

“ Could we prevail with the people diligently to examine the merits of the cause, our church would every day gain more ground amongst all wise men, &c.” Which challenge being accepted, and the merits of the cause examined, how could he suffer the person to be treated in such a manner, and persecuted with all imaginable violence, that had answered him so modestly, so like a gentleman, and so like a scholar !

It may be said, the doctor could not avoid it ;— but this is certain, that he was far from attempting his relief, that he used him with all the slight and neglect possible, and yet at the same time confessed by his silence, that he could not answer his argument.

It certainly became Dr. Calamy to have interceded with the government on his behalf, to have obtained fair law for his adversary, to have pleaded with his majesty, that he had challenged the dissenters, *to examine the merits of the cause* ; that he did not doubt his being able to reduce them by argument ; and that it would seem as if he acknowledged himself over-matched, to call in the aid of the government, to oppress instead of answer his antagonist. That he did not doubt, but *the church would every day gain ground amongst all wise men, if the merits of the cause were fairly examined* ; and therefore he desired his adversary might be left free, or as they say, *a clear stage and no favour*. This had been doing his duty as an aggressor in this quarrel ; this had been to show himself a gentleman, as well as a fair adversary ; a christian, as well as a scholar.

But instead of this, how *barbarously* was he treated by the government, how neglected, and his

frequent applications to Dr. Calamy, received with contempt, will appear in the close of this book, to the eternal reproach both of the *doctor*, and his *argument*.

From these considerations, and the profound silence of these gentlemen, I think, we have a right to retort the words of Dr. Calamy, upon themselves; and say in his own language, with some small variation.

“As for those, who quarrel with *dissenters* about their *Non-Conformity*, and are tolerably able to judge for themselves, let not such rely barely upon the authority either of one or the other; all we desire of them is, that they would equally hear both sides, that they would think, *the ministers that dissent from the church of England*, have some sense and conscience too, as well as other men, and are able to say some-what for what they do themselves, or require of others; and laying aside all prejudices, favour to, or admiration of mens persons, they would weigh and consider the arguments, that may be propounded to them, being diffident of their own apprehensions, and indifferent to either part of the question; that they would think it no shame to change their minds, when they see good reason for it.”

I cannot but think, that the *dissenter* has the best title to make this declaration, especially since the challenge of the other has been so fairly accepted, and no answer ever returned; and not only so, but the incapacity of answer so plainly acknowledged, by the most dishonourable method of calling in the aid of the government, to oppress instead of answer the author.

The *knocking-down* arguments of a *goal* and

fine, ultra tenementum, which were used in those arbitrary times, were but the sure refuge of a cause by no other arguments to be defended ; and had it been true, that the church as doctor Calamy says, would by examining the merits of the cause, every day gain ground amongst all wise men : Why did not the doctor join issue with Mr. De Laune, in going on with the merits of the cause, as he had in his book fairly begun ?

I think, it is needless to repeat the most just inference ; it is plain to me, the prevailing power of argument laid down in this book, shewed itself in evidences too strong to be denied ; viz. In silence as to matters in dispute ; and in furious revenge upon the author.

Secondly, I cannot conclude this preface without giving the world the rest of the history of this gentleman, which it was impossible for him to give of himself.

His sentence, as the reader will find in his book, was 100 marks ; the expensive prosecution depriving him of his livelihood, which was a *grammar-school*, and long imprisonment, had made him not only unable to pay this fine ; but unable to subsist himself and his family.

He continued in close confinement in the prison of *New-gate*, about fifteen months, and suffered there great hardships by extreme poverty ; being so entirely reduced by this disaster, that he had no subsistence, but what was contributed by such friends as came to visit him.

His behaviour in this distress, was like the greatness of mind he discovered at his trial, and the same spirit which appears in his writing, appeared in his conversation, and supported himself with in-

vincible patience under the greatest extremities ; but long confinement and distresses of various kinds at last conquered him.

He had a wife and two small children, all with him in prison, for they had *no subsistence elsewhere* ; the closeness and inconveniencies of the place first affected them, and all three by lingering sorrows and sickness died in the prison ; at last worn out with trouble, and hopeless of relief, and *too much abandoned* by those, who should have taken some other care of him. *This excellent person sunk under the burden and died there also.*

I cannot refrain saying, *such* a champion of *such* a cause deserved better usage ; and it was *very, very hard* *such* a man, *such* a christian, *such* a scholar, and on *such* an occasion should starve in a dungeon, and the whole body of dissenters in *England*, whose cause he died for defending, should not raise him 66l. 13s. 4d. to save his life.

I could go on here to exclaim against the cruelty of one party, and the ingratitude of the other ; but *the man is dead* : he lyes a monument of English tyranny on one hand and selfish principles on the other, both which make nations blind to men of merit ; but this is not the design of the present publication.—The present case is to let the world see the necessity of TOLERATION, the mischief of persecution ; and that there are better reasons to be given for the *dissenters* differing from the church of *England* than some people imagine.

I shall make no apology here for my writing this preface, but what I hope the reader will allow reasonable : The book is perfect of itself, never author left behind him a more finished piece ; and I believe the dispute is entirely ended : If any

man ask what we can say, why the *dissenters* differ from the church of England, and what they can plead for it; I can recommend no better reply than this, let them answer, in short, THOMAS DE LAUNE; and desire the querist to read the book.

I have added nothing but the note of his death; the history of this he could not write himself: The account is too melancholly to tell the particulars: If I should go on, it would touch too near, and I am not writing a satire on those he endeavoured to defend.

'Tis pity, after his death, he has no better a hand to recommend him to the world; but since no man will build a monument upon his grave, I thought a debt due to his ill-rewarded merit, to write this as a monument upon his work, and I am sorry it is performed no better.

A ROYAL WITNESS TO THE DISSENTERS

CAUSE.

Being some gleanings of some of those weighty and worthy sayings of the late king, in his conference with the popish marquis of *Worcester*, 1646, in *Ragland Castle*, out of *Certamen Religiosum*.

First, *In behalf of the scripture, which the Papists slight for their tradition.*

Secondly, *Against their primitive antiquity, which they adore, and fetch their vain worship from.*

First, **F**OR the SCRIPTURES, *he saith*, p. 119. "That the scripture is the rule by which all differences may be composed; it is the light, wherein we must walk; the food of our souls, an antidote, that expelleth any infection; the only sword that kills the enemy; the only plaister, that can cure our wound; the only documents to attain eternal life. And p. 116. that the evidences which are in scripture cannot be manifested, but out of the same scripture." And quotes for the same *Irenæus lib. 3. 12.*

Secondly, *Against their ANTIQUITIES*, p. 111. "Our Saviour Christ, saith, we must not so much hearken to what has been said by them of old time, *Mat. 5, 21, 22*, as to that which he shall tell you. Where *Auditis dictum esse antiquis* is exploded, and *ego dico vobis* is come in its place. And speaking

of that king of *Phrygia*, that was about to be baptized, asked the bishop, *what was become of all his ancestors*; he told him they were gone to hell: flung away, and said, *then thither will I go unto them*; faith no less wise are they, who had rather err with their *fathers and councils*, than rectify their understandings by the word of God, and square their faith according to its rules. *And speaking of the FATHERS*, faith p. 114. I discover no father's nakedness, but deplore their infirmities, that we should not trust in arms of flesh. *Tertullian* (faith he) was a *Montanist*; *Cyprian* a *Rebaptist* [or *Anabaptist*]; *Origen* an *Anthropomorphist*; *Herom* a *Monaganist*; *Naxianzen* an *Angelist*; *Rusebius* an *Arian*: *St. Austin* had written so many errors, that he wrote a book of *Retractions*, that they have often contradicted one another, and sometimes themselves.

That it was no strange thing to see errors triumph in antiquity, and flourish their ensigns of universality, succession, &c. in the face of truth; and nothing so familiar of old as to besmear the face of truth with spots of novelty; for this was *Jeremiah's* case, *Jer. 44, 16, 17, &c.*

If you vaunt never so much of your *Roman Catholic* church, we can tell you out of *St. John* that *she is become the Synagogue of Satan*; neither is it impossible, but the house of prayer may be made a den of thieves. You call us heretics, we answer you with *St. Paul. Act. 24, 13. In the way you call heresy, worship we the God of our Fathers; believing all things which are written in the law and the Prophets.*"

And the better to testify his piety and compassion to peaceable dissenters (having himself found

the inconveniency of the contrary) speaks to his son, our present king, in his EIK. BAS. p. 217. thus, viz.

My counsel and charge to you, is, that you beware of exasperating any factions by the crossness and asperity of some mens passions, humours, or private opinions employed by you, grounded only upon differences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of religion, wherein a charitable connivance and christian toleration often dissipates their strength, when rougher opposition fortifies.

And p. 164. *That his prerogative is best shewed and exercised in remitting, rather than exacting the rigour of the law; there being nothing worse than legal tyranny.*

15 OC 61

DE LAUNE'S
P L E A
FOR THE
NON-CONFORMISTS.

SIR,

IN your discourse about a *Scrupulous Conscience*, preached first at Aldermansbury, then at Bow-Church, about five or six months since, and since by you printed, you are pleased not only to put forth your endeavours by several arguments to gain and reduce the dissenters to the communion of the church of England; but (the better to shew your moderation and tenderness, as one who would not force and compel, but convince and satisfy a scrupulous conscience) do also offer to them several christian rules and directions to effect the same—amongst which are these that follow, viz.

“ When any private christian is troubled and perplexed with fears *Page 24, 25.* and scruples, that concern his duty, or the worship of God, he ought in the first place, to have recourse to the public guides and ministers of religion, who are appointed by God, and are best fitted to direct and conduct him; I say, to come to them, not only to dispute and argue with them and partly to oppose them, but with all modesty to propound their doubts, meekly to hearken to and receive instruction, humbly begging of

God to open their understanding, that they may see and embrace the truth, taking great care that no evil affection, love of a party, or carnal interest, influence or bias their judgment. We do not by this, desire men to pin their faith on the priest's sleeve, or to put out their own eyes, that they might be better guided and managed by them, but only diligently to attend to their reasons and arguments, and give some due regard and deference to their authority; for it may not be so absurd, as may by some be imagined, for the common people to take on trust from their lawful teachers, what they are not competent judges of themselves. But the difficulty here, is, how shall a private christian govern himself, when the very guides and ministers of religion determine differently, concerning these matters in question amongst us, some warranting and allowing them, others as much disapproving them? By what rule shall he choose his guide? [*To which you reply.*] As for those who scruple at conformity, and are tolerable able to judge for themselves, let not such rely barely on the authority either of one or the other; all we desire of them is, that they would equally hear both sides, that they would think that the ministers of the church of *England* have some sense and conscience too, as well as other men, and are able to say somewhat for what they do themselves, or require of others, and laying aside all prejudices, favour to, or admiration of mens persons, they would weigh and consider the arguments that may be propounded to them, being dissilent of their own apprehensions, and indifferent to either part of the question, that they would think it no shame to change their mind, when they see good reason for it.

"Could we thus prevail with the people diligently to examine the merits of the cause, our church would every day gain more ground amongst all wise men; for we care not how much knowledge and understanding our people have, so they be but humble and modest with it; nor do we desire men to become our proselytes any further than we give them good scripture and reason for it."

Upon reading whereof (being sent me by a friend) I betook myself to a serious search, and impartial consideration of the controversy, and the arguments tendered on both sides, (Many of the learned guides as you well observe, being of such different minds herein) and more particularly have I weighed those arguments mentioned by yourself in that discourse (in conjunction with what the Reverend Dr. *Stillington*, the learned Dr. *Moore*, and others have spoken to the same purpose;) together with what is, or supposed may be said in answer thereto. And from this christian encouragement and invitation from yourself, have presumed tho' a stranger to you to present it to you, with a disposition, (as you advise) meekly to hearken to and receive instruction, or conviction from yourself, or any of the learned, trusting that you shall find no evil affection, love of a party, or carnal interest, shall influence or bias my judgment, or that I shall think it any shame to change my mind, when better reason is offered for my conviction.

Resting confident in your candour and ingenuity, that what you have said herein to draw forth the scruples of any *dissenter*, is not to lay a bait thereby to catch him in any snare, or to take any legal advantage of him for his dissatisfaction to the religion by law established (which is hedged in with

to many legal penalties;) but out of a *noble christian principle*, that you may have an opportunity to discover, with how much meekness of wisdom and demonstration of truth, you can treat, convince and satisfy a Gain-sayer, having so generously declared *that you do not desire men should become your proselites, further than you give them good reason and scripture for it*; club-law being none of the arguments you treat a scrupulous or tender conscience with.

The arguments and objections are these that follow:

The first objections we shall mention, as brought against the non-conformity, and separation of the dissenters from the church of England, is this,—

Objection I. *Because what they are offended at are, not forbidden in scripture.* *that they have no reason or cause, on a conscientious account, so to do because the principal things they take offence at, are not forbidden in the scriptures; and till they can produce a scripture to the negative, as a negative article of faith, that say we are not to do so, or so, kneel at the communion, cross in Baptism, keep holy-days, use liturgies, litanies, &c. they can have no cause of just scruple..*

And thus, sir, you are pleased to argue, viz.

“ That there can be no transgression, but by either omitting what the law commands, or doing what the law forbids: for instance; if a man can shew where *kneeling at the sacrament* is forbidden in scripture, and *sitting* required; where *praying by a form* is forbid, and *extemporary prayers* are enjoined; then the dispute

Scrupulous conscience, p. 30.

would soon be at an end; but if neither the one nor the other can be found, as most certainly they cannot, then *kneeling at the sacrament*, and *reading prayers out of a book*, must be reckoned amongst things lawful, and then there is no need of scrupling them, because they may be done without sin; nay, where they are required by superiors, it is our duty to submit to them because it is our duty to obey them in all lawful things. This way of arguing (*you say*) is very plain and convincing."

And to the same purpose, we have Dr. Stillingfleet, in his late answers to several of the dissenters, affirming, that *Dr. Stillnigst.* those are schismatics, that deny *in his answer* submission to the government of *to several late* the church of England, and he tells *Treatises. p.* us in plain terms, assuredly, that *180, 181.* "the reasons of this denial do not signify a button; those (says he) who separate from the church of England, make this their fundamental principle as to worship (wherein the difference lies) that nothing is lawful in the worship of God, but what he hath expressly commanded; we say that all things are lawful which are not forbidden, and UPON THIS SINGLE POINT stands the whole controversy of seperation as to the constitution of our church."

Here is the objection in words at length, and which you find to be no other, than what the papists make to the church of England on the same occasion, which I shall transcribe in their own words, and the answers of your own party to it, which I hope will be esteemed a fair and satisfactory way of reply.

Dr. Stillingfleet giving us an account of his popish adversary's plea, and how he returned the negative articles to be proved by him, makes to him this answer.

But the strangest effort of all the rest, is what he has reserved to the last place, *In his discourse concerning the Idolatry of Rome* p. 175. S. 16. viz. that the charge of idolatry against them must be vain and groundless, because if I be pressed close, I shall deny any one of these negative points to be divine truths,

viz. That honour is not to be given to the image of Christ and his saints; that what appears to be bread in the Eucharist, is not the body of Christ; that it is not lawful to invoke saints to pray for us. — [These are the Jesuit's words, requiring the doctor to prove those negatives, on which single point he puts the stress of his argument.] Then follows his answer, which I pray you to mind well, because it is the answer you must take to the like question from us, viz.

“ But the answer to this is so easy, that it will not require much time to dispatch it. For I do assert it to be an article of my faith, that God alone is to be worshiped with divine and religious worship: And he that cannot hence infer, that no created being is to be worshiped, has the name of reasonable creature given him to no purpose. What need we make negative articles of faith, where the affirmative do necessarily imply them? If I believe, that the Scripture is my only rule of faith, as I most firmly do: Will any man, who considers what he says, require me to make negative articles of faith, that the pope is not, tradition is not, councils are not, a private spirit is not? For all

these are necessarily implied therein. And so for all particular doctrines rejected by us on this principle, we do not make them negative points of faith, but we therefore refuse the belief of them, because not contained in OUR ONLY RULE OF FAITH: On this account we reject the popes supremacy, transubstantiation, infallibility of the present church in delivering points of faith, purgatory, and other FOPPERIES imposed on the belief of christians; so that the short resolution of our faith, is this, that we ought to believe nothing as an article of faith, but what God hath revealed, and the complete revelation of God's will to us is contained in the BIBLE, &c."

And what could have been spoken with fuller evidence and greater demonstrations of truth: *Answer to the objection.*

Therefore as joining issue with the doctor, that on this single point stands the whole controversy of seperation, as to the constitution of their churches, viz. That nothing is lawful in the worship of God, but what he has expressly commanded, (as say the dissenters) and not all things lawful which are not forbidden, as say the advocates for the church of England; let his own words decide the matter, and forever determine the case. For what need had the dissenters (as the doctor affirms on their behalf) make negative articles of faith, where the affirmative necessarily imply them; if they do believe with the doctor, that the scripture is the ONLY rule of faith, as they most firmly declare to do, will any man, who considers what he says, require them to make negative articles of faith, that popes, counsels, private spirits, traditions are not, and so for all particular

doctrines rejected by them on this principle : They do not with the doctor, make them negative points of faith, but they therefore (with him) refuse the belief of them BECAUSE NOT CONTAINED IN OUR ONLY RULE OF FAITH. On this account they do (with the doctor) reject the pope's supremacy, transubstantiation, infallibility of the church of Rome in delivering points of faith, viz. *Purgatory*, and other *Fopperies*, as *Salt*, *Oil*, *Spittle*, *Exorcisms*, *Conjurations*, *Baptizing of Bells*, &c. And on the same account do they reject, what the *Protestants* have received either from *Pagan* or *Papist*, as to national, provincial, diocesan and parochial churches, because not contained in our ONLY RULE of faith. As also of the government of the church of Christ by *Lords*, *Archbishops*, *Bishops*, *Deans*, *Arch Deacons*, *Parsons*, *Vicars*, *Curates*, *Chancellors*, *Officials*, &c. because not contained in our ONLY RULE of faith. In like manner do the dissenters also reject the consecration of *Churches*, *Chapels*, *Cathedrals*, *Priest's Garments*, *Altars*, *Liturgies*, *Singing Service*, *Litanies*, *Bowings*, *Crossings*, *Cravings*, *Holy-Days*, *Fasts*, *Feasts*, *Vigils*, because not one word of any of them is contained in our only rule of faith ; so that the short resolution of the dissenters and the doctor's faith in this great point is this, that they ought to believe nothing as an article of faith, but what God, hath revealed and that the complete revelation of God's will to us is contained in the BIBLE.

Therefore Christ having in the affirmative completely revealed to us his mind and will in the bible both as to the doctrine and discipline of his church, we need not go to pope, council, tradition, or any other, for additions to either, nor trouble

ourselves to make negative articles of faith and practice, which would be as ridiculous as endless.

And this we hope the doctor and all his party will take for good pay, and that you, yourself, Sir, among the rest, will join issue, and acknowledge, *that this way of arguing is very plain and convincing.*

But this being so well performed by the doctor, what shall we say, that so wise, so learned, and so great a man as Dr. *Stillingsfleet*, should forget himself so far, as to make head, and run counter against his own arguments, and to that degree, as to pawn the whole controversy on that single point which he had so infalliably and indisputably resolved, which indeed is very strange and wonderful; but yet on serious thoughts, we shall find it but a fulfilling of that word of the Lord, *Isai. 29. 14. &c. I will do a marvellous work amongst this people, even a marvellous work and a wonder: [But what is that] why the wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and the understanding of the prudent men shall be hid. [But when shall that be?] Ver. 13. When they teach for doctrines, the commands [or the fear or worship] of God, for the precepts of men.* Our very case, and whereof we have frequent and continual experience. For with what evidence and demonstration of truth will the papists argue against, and censure the heathen for their idolatries, and yet at the same time be guilty of the same thing themselves, and expose themselves to the censure of the heathen on the one side, and the protestants on the other.

How wisely, how spiritually will protestants dispute with, handle and judge the papists, for leaving the word of God for fables, [for their

will-worship, false worship, idolatry, &c.] and yet at the same time be guilty of will-worship themselves, exposing themselves to the censure both of papists, and non-conformists? Of which we might give you divers instances both of the one and the other. And whereof take one or two.

Dr. Stillingfl. This very jesuit who disputes with the doctor, falls out in a most severe censure of the pagans, *idolatry of* for their most damnable, diabolic, *Rome. p. 22.* al idolatry, in worshipping their inferior deities, as *Venus, Mars, Bacchus, Vulcan,* and the like rabble of devils (as he calls them) who were their damons, heroes, or intercessors to their superior deity, *Jupiter,* not being aware (which also the doctor improves against him) that they were guilty of the same crime themselves, in setting up their inferior deities, the *Virgin Mary, St. Peter, St. Paul,* and an hundred more, as mediators and intercessors to the Supreme; and to whom, as the doctor observes, they pay divine honour and worship, bowing and kneeling before them, and their images also; which he proves against them to be no less diabolical idolatry.

Page 17. The jesuit being quick-sighted returns smartly upon the doctor, that whilst he judges their bowing and kneeling before their images to be idolatry, how can he justify their bowing and kneeling before the consecrated elements, bowing at the [*Altar, east*] name of *Jesus,* putting off their hats, &c. which the jesuit on the one hand, and the dissenters on the other hand, improves against him.

And so whilst Dr. Pierce severely censures the papists, for varying from the primitive pattern in their superstitions and abominations, because it was not so from the beginning ; *Primitive rule of Reformation* p. 11. 12.

Sergent, the jesuit, returns, his own argument smartly upon him for doing the same thing in many particulars, and which the dissenter also does for the same ; viz. For varying in so many things from the primitive pattern, whilst he judges others for the same.

To which we might add divers instances, both as to papists and protestants, especially in these three points idolatry, imposition and persecution.

So that as it has been generally observed the papists arguments against the heathens, the protestants arguments against the papists, are most substantial arguments against themselves, when their practice gives their principle the lie, and so rendering themselves altogether inexcusable as saith the text, *Rom. 2. 1, 2, 3. Therefore thou art inexcusable, O man, whosoever thou art that judgest ; for wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself ; for thou that judgest doest the same things. But be sure that the judgment of God is according to truth against them which commit such things. And thinkest thou this, O man, that judgest them which do such things, and doest the same, that thou shalt escape the judgment of God ? So.*

Another objection brought against the dissenters, is, because they separate from the church of England for mere niceties, for little things, which in their own nature are indifferent. *Objection 2. because they are indifferent things.*

To that purpose you are pleased to express your self, viz. "A scrupulous conscience is conversant about things in their own nature indifferent;" and consists,

"Either in strictly tying up yourselves to some things God has nowhere commanded; as the Pharisees which made great conscience of washing before they did eat, and abundance of other unnecessary rites and usages, they had of mens own inventing and devising, which they as religiously, nay, more carefully observed, than the indispensible commands of God himself:

"Or in a conscientious abstaining from some things which are not forbid, not any ways unlawful. *Touch not, taste not, handle not*; doubting and fearing where no fear is, thinking they should as much offend God by eating some kinds of meats, wearing some garments, as they should do, were they guilty of murder and adultery. Which is the case of many amongst us, who by such scrupulosity about little matters, seem more precise and austere, than other good and honest christians are, or themselves need or ought to be."

And a little further you add—"A scrupulous conscience, therefore starts and boggles, where there is no real evil or mischief, is afraid of omitting or doing what may be omitted or done without sin. Which I know not how better to illustrate, than by those unaccountable antipathies or prejudices, that some men have against some sorts of meats or living creatures, which have not the least harm or hurt in them, yet are so offensive and dreadful to such persons, that they fly from them as they

would from a tyger or bear, and avoid them as they would do the plague or poison. Just thus do some men run out of the church at the sight of a surplice, as if they had been scared by the apparition of a ghost."

A late piece, called "*A resolution of conscience,*" &c. (supposed to be Dr. Moore's) affirms thus much; "1. That the government of our church by Bishops. 2. The liturgy, or set forms of prayer, administration of sacraments. 3. Certain rites of the church, particularly the surplice, the cross in baptism, the gesture of kneeling at the communion, the ring in marriage, the observation of the church's holy days. All which (says he) I take for granted, are indifferent in their own nature; that there is nothing of viciousness or immorality in any of them to make them unlawful. I know no body (says he) so unreasonable as not to grant this." Mr. W. Allen, in his late piece called catholicism, says to the same purpose, "That the ceremonies of the church of England are not enjoined as things of divine appointment but only as of an indifferent nature, and therefore there is no reason to scruple them. (And again he says,) That the ceremonies and service of the church, or use of things in or about God's worship, which are not of the essence of it, nor used under the notion of being commanded by God, but professedly used as things indifferent in their own nature, and only as matters of human prudence, cannot justly be charged to be false worship."

Resolution of conscience. p. 38.

Mr. William Allen's catholicism. p. 210.

The author of the protestant reconciler tells us,
Protestant reconciler. part 1. p. 35. "That it is acknowledged by the church of England, that the ceremonies used in and by that church imposed on her members, are in their own nature things indifferent; thus (says he) in the preface to the book of common prayer, it is determined, that the particular forms of divine worship, and the rites and ceremonies to be used therein, are in their own nature things indifferent." Dr. Stillingfleet, and many more, speak the same thing.

So that by "indifferent" they
Prot. reconcil. Preface p. 4: would have us to understand things of a middle nature, that are neither good or bad of themselves, otherwise than as enjoined for order or prudence by superiors, and alterable at pleasure; therefore king James, opposes them to necessary things, which are enjoined by positive scripture; and so the protestant reconciler defines them, telling us thus: "The ceremonies which are imposed by our church, as they have nothing sinful in their nature, for which inferiors should refuse submission to them, so have they nothing of real goodness, nothing of positive order, decency, or reverence, for which they ought to be commanded."

This we are told in words and pretence, the better to gild the pill, to make it go
Answer to the Objection. down the glibber; but if you look more narrowly into the matter you will find, that you yourselves, as well as the dissenters have justly another sense of them, and that the church of Eng-

land does both use and impose them as necessary things, (whatever they import in their own nature.)

For, first, are they not things consecrated and dedicated to holy uses, in the worship and service of God, *Hooker's Eccl. Pol. l. 5. p. 70. Sect. 69.* which makes them cease to be indifferent? Hooker says, "festival days are cloathed with outward robes of holiness, and that places and times of divine worship are so too, and the cross an holy sign."

Dr. Burges says, "ceremonies may be called the worship of God, the professors of Leyden call only such things, persons, times and places holy, as are consecrated and dedicated to God; but so in their esteem and ours also is their diocesan episcopacy and priesthood, their churches, liturgies, kneeling, bowing, crossing, festivals, ecclesiastical courts, and excommunications," &c. *Doctor Burges.*

Secondly, They are not indifferent (but necessary things in your esteem) as appears by the declaration of the commissioners at the Savoy on the kings first coming, over-ruling the arguments of their dissenting brethren, pleading for reformation and tenderness, which says, "that the apostle has commanded that all things be done decently; and that there may be conformity, let there be taxes, a rule and canon for that purpose; and thence they inferred, that though charity will move to pity, and relieve those that are truly perplexed and scrupulous, that we must not break God's commands in charity to them, and therefore we must not perform

Prot. Reconcil. Part 1. p. 39. S. 8.

public services indecently and disorderly for the sake of tender consciences."—And all this is said to justify the refusal, to abate the imposition of ceremonies, especially those three then contended about, *Surplice, Sign of the Cross, and kneeling at the Communion.*

So that here they are made necessary, and a command of God urged to inforce them; viz. that all things be done decently and in order (though by the way) no other command than Bellarmine *Bellar. de effect. Sacra. l. 2. cap. 31.* urges to establish the whole popish service and ceremonies of the church of Rome, viz. by this precept of the apostle.

And thirdly, do not they as necessary things, impose and inforce them with all severity imaginable, by excommunications of dissenters, thereby knocking the fly on the neighbour's head with a hatchet, to the knocking out his brains, as says Dr. Taylor, destroying them in their liberties, estates, yea, lives also, which surely must not be for trifles, but necessary things.

Yet so hardy and bold do all this (as the protestant reconciler worthily observes to them) to the reproaching the wisdom and faithfulness of Christ, and the primitive churches, for want of such decency and order (for they had no such;) the wisdom of the church of England, who have declared, that their rites and ceremonies are in their own nature things indifferent, and may be altered and changed; as also that they had their beginning from the institutions of man. The wisdom of king James, and king

Charles, who have both of them declared them to be esteemed unnecessary, as being indifferent things, and not commanded by God, and therefore alterable at pleasure. But especially (says our author) hereby become guilty of adding to the word of God, of will-worship, of *teaching for doctrines the commandments of men*, of imposing these things as necessary parts of worship, and so of worshipping God in vain, as (says he) will appear by what the best asserters of the doctrines of the church of England have declared in this case, quoting Mr. Faulkner's assertion in saying hereupon, we add unto the word of God

when we teach any thing to be *Mr. Faulkner,* commanded, or forbidden by the *lib. Eccl. 359.* law of God, which is not there commanded, or forbidden. And bishop Sanderson,

that then men teach for doctrines the commandments of men, when they teach

any thing to be absolutely unlawful, which God hath not forbidden in his word; and if any man *Bishop Sanderson's Ser. on Mat. 15. 9. p. 8, 9, 10.* shall wear a surplice, or kneel, or cross, with an opinion of ne-

cessity, and for conscience sake towards God, as though God's service could not be rightly performed without them; yea, although the church had not performed them, doubtless the use of these ceremonies, by reason of such his opinion, should be superstition to him.

And Dr. Patrick, in the friendly debate—Then (says he) will-worship is erected, when any thing is enjoined to be done, or not done, as *Friendly debate page 115.* if it were the will and command

of God he should be so served : when it is a mere constitution of the will of man. Then do we make ceremonies to be parts of divine worship, then we suppose them to be so necessary, that the doing of them would be a thing pleasing to God, and the omitting of them the contrary, although there were no human law which required the doing of them. And *secondly*, when we suppose them unalterable and obligatory to the consciences of all christians, for this supposes an equal necessity with that of divine institution.

All which so fully speaks the sense of the dissenters, that there needs no better answer to be given, than what they themselves have put into their mouths.

But says Mr. Allen, in contradiction to his brethren, that things are not used as commanded by God, (taking for granted they had not so urged them) and only as matters of human

prudence, cannot (say they) be charged with will-worship. But for his better information, we would refer him to the protestant reconciler, and the many authorities urged by their own pens to clear the same, with this addition as to *Jeroboam's* case, who varied but in four particulars, as to the service and ceremonies of worship; viz. the place of worship, (*Dan and Bethel* instead of *Jerusalem*.) 2. The signs of divine presence (golden calves instead of Cherubims.) 3. The time of the feast (the 15th of the eighth Month, instead of the 7th) 4. persons administering, (making of priests) all which, one might think, were but circumstantialia about worship, and imposed not under the notion of being commanded by God, but only

(as Mr. Allen observes of our ceremonies) as matters of human prudence; and for which *Jeroboam* had much to say to the dissenters in that day, who opposed and separated from him for the same (2 *Chron.* 11. 16. with *Arrow* a- 13, and 14) as Mr. Ainsworth in *against* I- his plea for *Jeroboam* most notably *dolatry* p. observes, who kept in the mean time 45. to 74. to the articles of faith and fundamental ordinances of religion; worshipping with reverence the God of his fathers, making alteration in things merely ceremonial, whereof no express law forbidding, and being variable, as time, place, and person, gave occasion. But however, *Jeroboam* might mince the matter, and make light of it, as others do in *Jeroboam's* like circumstances; yet God being *Rites & Ser-* a jealous God, would not admit of *vices, & ours* such innovation, and varying from *compared.* his pure worship, but reproveth these for desperate idolatry, and reputes it no better than the worshipping of devils, 2 *Chron.* 11. 15. His supremacy in the kingdom not being able to bear him out in altering the ordinances of the service of God; and so doing things out of his own heart, 1 *Kings* 12. 33. it became his sin, and made Israel to sin, thereby doing evil above all that went before him, having made other gods and molten images, to provoke the Lord to anger, 1 *Kings* 14. 9. casting him behind his back: Therefore the Lord threatens in the next verses, in these words: *Behold I will bring evil upon the house of Jeroboam, and will cut off from Jeroboam him that pisseth against the wall, and him that is shut up and left in Israel, and will take away the remnant of the*

house of Jeroboam as a man taketh away dung, until it be all gone. Him that dieth of Jeroboam in the city shall the dogs eat; and him that dieth in the field, shall the fowls of the air eat, for the Lord hath spoken it; all which came to pass accordingly.

Which pregnant instance the judicious will, I doubt not, apply, and consider that these prudent and indifferent circumstantialia about religious worship (as they are pleased to term them) however minced and extenuated, may be of the same nature with Jeroboam's idolatry. With this aggravation, that *Jeroboam* varied but in four, and these in above forty particulars, wherein they have presumed to swerve from the pattern, and add to God's word and worship.

Another objection is this, and none of the least,

Objection 3. these rites are of primitive antiquity not of popish novelty. viz. that dissenters have no cause to separate from the church of England, for symbolizing with Romish rites and ceremonies, because they only retain and practice such rites and ceremonies which were practised by antiquity before popery took place in the world.

To this purpose you are pleased to say in your *Scrupulous Conscience*,—"Now our

Page 30. first reformers here in England, did not go about to invent a new species of government, to devise new rites and ceremonies and a new form of worship, such as should be least excepted against and then obtrude it upon this nation, as was done at Geneva, and some other places, but they wisely considered if they did but reject what the Romanists had added to the faith and worship of christians, lay aside their novel in-

ventions, usurpations and unwritten traditions, there would remain the pure, simple, primitive christianity, such as it was before the Roman church was thus degenerated; nor have we any thing of popery left amongst us, but what the papists had left amongst them of primitive religion and worship.

“ Thus saith the resolution of the case of conscience, that the rites of the church of England, are exceeding few, and those plain and easy, grave and manly, founded on the practice of the church long before popery appeared on the stage of the world.

*Resolution
of that case
of conscience.
P. 3.*

And again,

“ As to our churches prescribing a liturgy of set forms of prayer, and administration of sacraments, and other public offices, it is easy to shew, that symbolizing with the church of Rome herein, is so far from being culpable, and much more from being a just ground of separation from our church, that it is highly commendable; for as herein our church no less symbolizeth with the primitive church than with that of Rome, as she is now constituted.”

And Dr. Saravia, who says thus; *Satis est modestis and pijs christianis satisfacere, qui ita recesserunt a superstitionibus* N. Fratri & and *Idolatria Romanæ ecclesiæ, ut Amico resp. probatos ab orthodoxis patribus ad art. 12. mores non rejiciunt.*

“ That it may be a sufficient satisfaction to modest and pious christians, that there is such a departure from the superstitions and idolatry of the church of Rome, as not to reject the approved customs of the orthodox fathers.

These our rites and ceremonies (says Dr. Stillingfleet) are retained, and kept out of due reverence to antiquity, *Historical account. p. 16.* And again, These ceremonies were retained or imposed, to manifest the justice and equity of the reformation, by letting their enemies see, they did not break communion with them for mere indifferent things, *Page 14.* or that they left the church of Rome no further than they left the ancient church.

The doctor further assures us, that as to discipline, respecting the government of the church by bishops, it is to be made good by an universal tradition, universally received since the apostles times, as the apostolical government, viz. diocesan bishops.

As to the government of our churches by bishops (says the resolver) it is so far from being an unlawful symbolizing with the church of Rome, that we have most clear evidence of its being a symbolizing with her in an apostolical institution."

Thus you have the objection in words at length, to which, in each part, the dissenters do say, or may be supposed to say, as follows :

Answer to the 3d. Objection. In the first place, if it be taken for granted that the pattern is fetched from those times, and not from the popish times, viz. Rome in its apostacy, we would enquire these two things : 1st. By what rule or reason they should be a pattern to us, so as to have their rites and services imposed on us or our ritual ? And 2d. whe-

ther there were not great errors and superstitions in those times, as well as the succeeding ages?"

First, why should our first reformers any more impose the rites and customs of those times on us, than any other? Why were we more obliged to accept of the ecclesiastical laws of Constantine, than his civil; as Dr. Taylor well urges?

The Rites of those Primitive Times not to be imposed on us.

"That the fathers met at *Laodicea*, at *Antioch*, at *Nice*, at *Gangra*, a thousand or thirteen hundred years ago, should have any authority over us in England so many ages after, is so infinitely unreasonable, that none but the fearful and unbelievers, the scrupulous, and those that are *Doutoi tee phusei*, of a slavish nature, and are in bondage by their fear, and know not how to stand in the liberty, by which Christ has made them free, will account themselves in subjection to them. If on this account, the rulers of the church will introduce any pious, just, warrantable canon we are to obey in all things where they have power to command: But the CANONS (says he) for being in the old codes of the church, bind us no more than the laws of *Constantine*.

No, they must go higher, or else it will not do. To the first primitive christianity, and religion in the first primitive times given us by Christ and his apostles. For Dr. Stillingfleet has well instructed us, if we believe the scriptures are the only rule of faith; then it follows, *Councils and Fathers and Private Spirits* are no more our rule than the pope himself; and therefore with the doctor, we refuse the belief of all the additions, inventions, tra-

ditions, because not contained in our only rule of faith ; *To the law and to the testimony, if they speak not according to that, it is because there is no light in them.*

But secondly, Do we not find those very times abounding very much with error and superstition ? Which is an argument we should not receive them for our pattern more than others ; whereof I shall give you some instances from their navi, or errors, mentioned by the *Centurists*, viz. That *Origen* asserted two Christs, denied his godhead, the head of the *Arians* and *Pelagians*, holding (as *Jerom* says) very desperately about the spirit, and very corruptly about angels, devils, creation, providence, original sin, church-government, and the resurrection, and sacrificing for the dead. *Cri. l. 3.* in *Yo.* Baptism takes away sin, and that there must be a baptism after the resurrection. They also say of *Cyprian*, that *Cyprian* affirmed the church of *Rome* to be the mother-church ; that there ought to be one high-priest over the church ; and that the principal church is *Peter's* chair, from whence the unity of the priesthood ariseth ; and that on *Peter* the church is founded : That he was a violent impugner of priests marriages ; held that sins are done away by alms and good works : That the person baptizing in the very act confers the holy spirit ; that *chrism* and *exorcism* are absolutely necessary ; and

*Those primitive times abounded with corrupti-
ons.*

*Mag. Cent. 3.
p. 262, 263.
Etc.*

Origen corrupt.

*Cyprian cor-
rupt.*

Austin corrupt.

there should be sacrifices for the dead, though some suppose many of these things were foisted in by the papists.

St. *Austin* prays for the dead, *De confes. l.*
the soul of his mother *Monica.* 9. c. 3.

St. *Ambrose* for the soul of *Ep. con. Aeri.*
Theodosius. *Her. 75.*

St. *Gregory* for the soul of *Enchir. c. 110.*
Trajan.

St. *Austin*, says "Prayers avail not unto all alike, who are departed; therefore when the sacrifices of the altar, or alms are offered for all them who are baptized, and who are defunct, for the good, they are thanksgiving; for the not very bad, they are propitiations; for the very bad, though not help the dead, yet comfort the living."

Cbrysoptom was for offering 1. *Cor. 16.*
prayers for the dead with alms *Hom. 41.*
and oblations.

Austin, a great friend to reliques, affirming great miracles *De Civ. Dei.*
wrought by them. l. 2. 2. c. 8.

Jerome, a great defender of reliques, and adoration of them. *Contr. Virgil.*
Epb. 2.

Constantine, a great admirer of reliques.

Mr. Mede says, that primitive christians cannonized saints, and honoured the reliques in imitation of the Gentiles, their dæmon-worship, thereby to allure them, which says he, laid the foundation of antichrist's, and idolatric apostacy.

Apost. of later times on 1 Tim.
4. 1.

They had sufflation, trine immersion, exorcism, chrysm, white garments, milk, honey to the new baptized, giving the eucharist to the infant, from the 4th to the 12th century mingling water with the sacramental wine, the eulogiæ, &c. To which head you may add the royal witness in the beginning.

So that from the consideration of the errors and superstitions, abounding in these times, there is no ground why our first reformers should propose them for our pattern; for if in one thing, why not in another?

But in the next place I presume on a fair examination of particulars, these two things will appear, 1. that we in the church of England do not in our rites, services, and ceremonies symbolize with antiquity. And 2. that we do wholly symbolize in most, if not in all of them, with popery.

1. It is manifest that our first reformers, as we are told did not, make such a perfect piece from pure primitive antiquity in the first reformation, and forming of our liturgy which contains so much of the rites, services, and ceremonies of the church; for if so there had been no such need to make so many alterations, and reform so often, and in so many things the reformation. And that they have so done, the author of the protestant reconciler gives us this account.

"It is certain (says he) that our church has already altered her liturgy, at several times, and in several parts, viz. the lessons, festivals,

Our rites do not symbolize with antiquity as urged.

Protest. rec. part 1. postsc.

ceremonies, rubric, collects, prayers, the form of administration of sacraments, catechism, confirmation, marriage, visitation of the sick, the burial of the dead, and commination." All which he had demonstrated in each particular, and from thence he makes these three remarks.

1. "That the pretence of still retaining and imposing the present ceremonies, out of due reverence to antiquity, is false and hypocritical.

2. "That it cannot justly be pretended that these ceremonies are retained and imposed to manifest the justice and equity of the reformation, by letting their enemies see they did not break communion with them for mere indifferent things, or that we left the church of Rome no further than she left antiquity

3. "Hence it appears how senselessly it is alleged, that we cannot abate or change these ceremonies, because they have been once received and owned by the church."

But in the next place, the descending into particulars, will give a fuller and clearer demonstration of our not symbolizing with antiquity in all our rites and ceremonies

*Instances given
to prove their
novelty,*

First, Because so many of them are novel, and so many disowned by antiquity. And so much which has been really from antiquity, has been disowned by us, and blotted out of the liturgy.

First, That most of them are novel, or disowned by antiquity. We shall begin with these three principal ceremonies, about which there was so much contention at the Savoy; viz. kneeling, surplice, and the cross in baptism.

101. That of kneeling at the altar, or at the sacrament of the supper, is put amongst the rest of the ancient ceremonies, before any such thing as popery was in the world, which novel, and but of yesterday, never known before transubstantiation, nor with us protestants received until Edward the sixth's second common-prayer, for in the first it was not. Peter Martyr saith *propter transubstantiationem et realem presentiam inuenta est in Ecclesiam*; that to maintain transubstantiation and real presence, it was brought into the church. —

We are told in the decretal, that pope Honorius, 1214, ordained kneeling at the sacrament. And his predecessor, Innocent the 3d transubstantiation. It is said that in Tertullian and Chrysostom's time, they were said to stand at the altar, when they partook of the supper. Socrates saith, they took it in a table gesture, eating it at their love feasts: And Parmæus asserts the same.

Hereupon the protestant reconciler tells us, to restrain this kneeling posture at the receipt of the sacrament, out of due reverence to antiquity, when no such posture used by antiquity, I fear cannot be well excused from falsehood, or from imposing on the people.

2. As to the surplice, the fathers used it not, though it is clear the pagans did; from whom papists had it, and we from them.

2. *Surplice.*

Salmasius as well as Petavius his adversary, owns, that in the primitive times the presbyters did not wear any distinct habit from the people.

Cælestius reproves the French bishops, who began it as a novelty which tended to superstition, and made way to mockery, and deceiving of the faithful. *The reply to Dr. Morton.*

The surplice was brought into the church by pope Adrian, Anno 796.

Dr. Stillingfleet tells us, that as for the surplice, in parish churches, it is not of that consequence as to bear a dispute one way or other. *Unreasonab. Separa. p. 38*

3. As to the sign of the cross in baptism upon the forehead only, we read of no such rite amongst the ancients, though the canon of the church tells, it is an honourable badge, and a lawful ceremony, by which the child is dedicated to the service of Christ, and which rite was held in the primitive church, both Greeks and Latins, with one consent and great applause. *3. Cross in baptism.*

It is true the ancients after baptism did sign the baptized with a cross upon his head and breast, and anointed him with chrysm, as a distinct order from baptism; but no such signing in the act of baptism, as part of that ordinance.

In Edward the sixth's time the reformers did, as the first service-book makes mention, sign the elements three times with the sign of the cross, and also the child upon the forehead and breast when the god-fathers named his name, and afterwards in confirmation again in the breast and forehead; but all this is laid aside, and a new thing taken up,

which is neither to be found in antiquity, nor in the first pattern of our reformers.

As to the order and office of confirmation in the rubrick and liturgy, it is another
 4. *Confirmat.* thing than the ancients us'd. That was to be done with chrysm by the hands of a bishop, with two crosses, one on the breast, the other on the forehead, immediately after baptism was administered (and as a distinct ordinance from it) but this is to be performed by the hands of a bishop, without any chrysm or configuration when they come to years of discretion.

As there doth not appear any warranty from antiquity for this confirmation;
Why confir- so neither is there any direction
mation not Scrip- in scripture for it; as arch-
ural. Arch- bishop Cranmore doth fully ac-
bish. Cranmore. knowledge, whereof we have an
 account from Dr. Burnet, out of
Cotton's Lib. a manuscript, written with the
 bishop's own hand, by way of
cleo. E. 5. question and answer, as he found
 in Cotton's library, Cleop. E. 5.

Q. "Whether confirmation be instituted by Christ?"

A. "There is no place in scripture that declar-
 eth this sacrament to be instituted by Christ.

1. "Because the places alledged for the same be
 no institutions; but acts and deeds of the *apostles*.

2. "Because those acts were done by a special
 gift given to the *apostles* for the confirmation of
 God's word at that time.

3. "Because the same especial gift doth not now
 remain with the successors of the *apostles*.

Q. "What is the external sign?"

A. "The church useth Chryfma, but the scripture maketh no mention thereof."

As for the office of baptizing of infants, as enjoined in the liturgy for regeneration upon the deed done, and to be performed by godfathers, who are to profess faith and repentance in the infant's name and stead, is generally scrupled and disowned by the dissenters (as favouring too much of popery) tho' the greatest part of them do baptize their infants.

And as for the antiquity of the practice, if any credit may be given to many learned Pædobaptists, it will not appear; whereof take these following instances:

The learned Dr. Taylor tells us in his dissuative against popery, "That there is a tradition to baptize infants, relies but upon two witnesses, Origen and Austin; and the latter having received it from the former, it relies wholly upon a single testimony, which is but a pitiful argument to prove a tradition apostolical. He is the first that spoke it, but Tertullian that was before him, seems to speak against it: which he would not have done, if it had been a tradition apostolical. And that it was not so (saith the bishop) it is but too certain, if there be any truth in the words of Ludovicus Vives, saying, that anciently none were baptized, but persons of riper years. He says thus in his Com. on August. l. 1. c. 27. whose words are as followeth, viz."

"None were baptized of old, but those who were of age, who did not only understand what

Dissuative against popery p. 117.

Ludovici vi. the mystery of the water meant,
ves Com. on but desired the same; the
Aug. l. 1. c. 27. perfect image whereof (saith he)
 we have yet in our infant baptism; for it is asked of the infant, will thou be baptized? For whom the sureties answer, I will."

The Doctor adds, "That the parents of Austin, Jerom, Ambrose, altho' christians, did not baptize their children till they were 30 years of age; and that it will be very considerable in the example, and of great efficacy for the destroying that supposed necessity of derivation of infant baptism from the apostles."

Hugo Grotius (in Annot on Mat. 19. 14th.)
Grotius on Mat. saith, "It was no small evidence,
 19. 14. that baptism of infants many
 hundred years was not ordinary
 in the Greek church, because not
 only Constantine, the great, the son of Helena, a
 zealous Christian, but also Gregory Nazianzen,
 who was the son of a christian Bishop and brought
 up long by him, was not baptized till he came to
 years, as is (saith he) related in his life."

Daille, the learned Frenchman, tells us,
 "That in ancient times they often deferred
Daille. ed the baptism of infants, as appears (says
 he) by the history of Constantine, Theodocious,
 Valentinian, Gratian, and in St. Ambrose
 and also by the Orations of Gregory, Nazianzen,
 and St. Basil on this subject. And some of the
 fathers have been of opinion, that it is fit it should
 be deferred: But whence is it (saith he) that the
 very mentioning hereof is scarce to be endured
 at this day? Use of the fathers, l. 2. p. 149."

Dr. Field saith, " That very many that were born of christian parents, besides those that were converted from paganism, put off their baptism for a long time, insomuch that many were made bishops before they were baptized." *On the church, p. 729.*

Mr. Baxter, a great asserter and defender of infant-baptism, does ingeniously own, after his long search into antiquity, thus much—" I will confess that the words of Tertullian and Nazianzen, shew that it was long before all were agreed of the very time, or of the necessity of baptizing of infants before any use of reason, in case they were like to live to maturity." *More Proofs, p. 279,*

As for baptizing of infants with sureties, fidejussors, or godfathers, as the liturgy enjoins; and such an essential part of the ordinance (owning that the baptized persons are required to repent and believe, and that infants are capable to do neither, but that they do both by their sureties) appears also, if the learned are to be credited, to be no less a novelty, as the Centurists declare, *Magd. Cent. 4. cap. 6, p. 419. De susceptoribus certi nihil Invenias*; that is, you can find nothing certain of god-fathers in that age. But that it came in the 5th century, *Gen. 5. c. 4. p. 656. Adhibitos interdum and susceptores, seu patrilinos ex autoribus hujus temporis liquet*; that is, the authors of the 5th century mention sureties, or god-fathers. Upon which Dr. Taylor saith:

" I know God might, if he would, have appointed god-fathers to give answer in the behalf of

children, and to be siders for them ; but we cannot find any authority or ground that he hath ; and if he had, that it is to be sup-

Dr. Taylor. posed he would have given them commission to have transacted the solemnity with better circumstances, and have given answers with more truth, for the question is asked of believing in the present ; and if the god-father answers in the name of the child—I DO BELIEVE—it is notorious ; they speak false and ridiculous, for the infant is not capable of believing ; and if he were, he were also capable of dissenting ; & how then do they know his mind ? And therefore, (saith he) Tertullian and Nazianzen gave advice, that the baptizing of infants should be deferred, till they could give an account of their own faith."

Walafridus Strabo, who lived about the year 480, saith (De Rebus Eccles. c. 26.) " That in the first times the grace of baptism was wont to be given to them only, who were come to that integrity of mind and body, that they could know and understand what profit was to be gotten by baptism ; what was to be confessed and believed ; what, lastly, was to be observed by them that are new-born in Christ, and confirms it by Austin's own confession of himself, continuing a Catechumen long before he was baptized. But afterwards (saith he) christians understanding original sin, and least their children should perish without any means of grace, had them (saith he) baptized by the decree of the council of Africa ; and then adds, how god-fathers and god-mothers were invented."

Johannes Bohemius, lib. 2. de Gent. Moribus, saith "it was in times past the custom to administer baptism only to those that were instructed in the faith, and seven times in the week, before easter and pentecost, catechized; but afterwards, when it was thought and adjudged needful to eternal life to be baptized, it was ordained that new-born children should be baptized, and god-fathers were appointed, who should make confession, and renounce the devil on their behalf."

As for the liturgy, it is another thing than can be found among the ancients. Is it not clear, that in the 3d century, they had no directory, or book to pray by, as Tertullian in his apology mentions!

"We look up to heaven with our hands stretched forth, as being innocent and bare-headed, as not ashamed to make our prayers *sine-Monitore*, without a directory, as coming from the free motion of our own heart."

Platina tells us, that in Celestine's time there was no other parts of the mass, but the reading of the epistles and gospels, which was Anno 435. Platina in Celest. 1.

Justin Martyr in the second century, fully sheweth the manner of Christian service in his time. ——— "The ancient christians (saith he) had their meetings on the Sunday, they began with prayers for the church especially for the enlightened, which were baptized; then the writings of the prophets and apostles are

read as time permits; then a sermon unto the people, and exhorts them all unto the imitation of the best things; then all do rise up, and pour forth their prayers again; when their prayers are ended, bread, and wine mixed with water, are brought forth; which being taken, he who has the charge goes before the people, with an earnest voice in praising God, and thanksgiving, and the people do answer with a loud voice, *amen*. Then the deacons divide the holy signs, unto all them which are present, and carry the same unto the absent: This (saith he) we call *eucharistia*, thanksgiving; whereof none may partake unless he believes the true doctrine, and be washed in the laver of regeneration and remission of sins, and live so as Christ hath directed. After this is a gathering of alms. And p. 7. he who instructed the people, prayed according to his ability. Here was no liturgy or common prayers mentioned."

Walifridus Strabo, who wrote in the 9th century, saith in his book *de Rebus*

Walafridus Ecclesia——"All which is done
Strabo now with a multitude of prayers
lessons, songs and consecrations,

which the apostles, and those who next followed them, did with prayers and remembrance of the Lord's sufferings, even as he commanded."

Socrates saith, that among all the christians in that age, scarce two were to be

Socrates histo.

l. 5. ch. 21.

found, that used the same words in prayer.

Pope Gregory.

Pope Gregory the first made a new form of service, which they call the mass, and did add many ceremonies that were not in use before: So that

Platina saith the whole institution of the mass was invented by him, we in England had ours from Gregory, who by his minister Austin first founded the church, and introduced most of the rites, service and ceremonies.

“ There was another mass, which was called the mass of Ambrose, a ridiculous thing, which they afterwards *Jacob. de Voragine in vita* fathered upon him different from *Greg.* Gregory's whereof we read in after-times, and there was great contention which mass should be received into the churches. Which when pope Adrian (who was Anno 796) saw, he was put to his shifts, and said he would refer it to the Will of God, whether he would by any visible sign approve the mass of Gregory, or of Ambrose. So these two books were laid to gather upon the altar, in St. Peters church, and he called upon God to shew which of the two he approved; the doors were shut all night, and the next morning when they returned into the church, the book of Ambrose was found lying, as it was laid down, and the other was all torn and dispersed through the church: The pope maketh the comment that the mass of Ambrose should lye untouched, and the mass of Gregory should be used through the world; and so he did authorise and command, that it should be used in all churches or chappels, which Charles the great did second; commanding that only to be used, and Ambrose's to be burnt.

Gregory the first, ordained the *8 Litanies.* litanies, or supplications; saith Platina.

9. *Responses.* The responses and gradual were given by pope Gregory ; faith Pol. virgil.

10. *Collects.* The collects ordinary, as faith Durandus, were ordained by pope Gregory ; the other collects added by fundry popes, in liturgia, cap. 21.

*As Cassan-
der.*

11. *Offices an-
tiphones.* He made the offices of the church, and disposed the nights and days antiphones or singing service ; he polished the rites of the mass, and renewed its canon ; he made the

12. *Kyriciel.*

introitus to the mass, with the particles ; he commanded the *kyricelison* or hallelujah to be sung. He ordered the singing of psalms, the litanies and processions. Balæus Cent. 1. p. 62. sect. 52.

13 *Psalms &
lessons.*

The prescript number of psalms and lessons was brought into the church by Gregory the 7th, Anno 1073, faith Durandus.

14 *Epist. &
Gospels.*

The epistles and gospels, Platina gives to pope Damasus, Anno 384. Pope Anastatius brought in standing at the gospel, Anno 400, as faith Platina and Pol. Virgil.

15 *Singing
service.*

Austin (conf. lib. 9.) shews that the *latin* church had no singing service ; that was brought into our ceremonies (faith Polidore Virgil) from the old heathen (*de invent. rer lib. 6, c. 2*) who were wont to sacrifice with Symphony, witness *Livius l. 9.*

The primitive church had no altars : Pope Sylvester was the first author of their consecration, *Beier. de Verb. Dei.* 16. *Altars.*

l. 4. c. 3. *Anno 334.* Then consequently no bowing to them, nor kneeling before them, being all novels.

As little can you find the English festivals in antiquity. 17 *Festivals.*

The *Centurists* tell us, *Obseruandum est Apostolos and Apostolicos Viros, neque de paschate, neque de aliis quibuscunque festiuitatibus legem aliquam* Mag. cent 2. c. 6, p. 119.

constituisse : It is to be observed that neither the apostles, nor any apostolic men have given us any law for the observation of *Easter*, or any other feast whatsoever, Magd. cent. 2, chap. 6, p. 119.

They also tell us out of Origen, that it was not lawful for christians to observe the feasts, or solemnities, either of Jews or Gentiles, Cent. 3. p. 137. p. 137.

The council of *Laodicea* in the 37th Cent. forbade the *Heathenish* or *Jewish* feast. *Non oportet a judais vel hereticis quæ feriatica mittuntur accipere, nec cum eis, agere feriatos.*

The canons of the ancient councils forbade to keep the pagan feasts, and to deck their houses with green boughs and bay-leaves, as they did in the kalends of *January*, con. affr. can. 2. tolet. 4. can. 5. brac. 2. c. 7.

The festivals observed by the ancients were not accounted more holy than other days. *Jerome* on *Math. 5*, says, *Non quod celebrior sit deis ista qua con venimus.*

The Waldenses, the ancient fathers of the protestants, held that they were to rest from labour on no day but the Lord's day. *Aeneas Silvius*.

The rites and ceremonies of marriage, as expressed in the office of marriage
 18. *The ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies of marriage.* in the liturgy, do not appear to have been in use in those primitive times. It being decreed by pope *Julius* and *Sericius*, about the middle of the 4th century,

that all marriages must pass the benediction of a priest on penalty of sacrilege; the office being taken from the papists, and those very restraints laid upon marriage, at what seasons people may marry, and when not, are taken out of the *Romish rubrick*. Pope *Clement* having ordained, that from *Septuagesima*, 'till *Easter*, from *Rogation*, 'till *Whit-Sunday*; and from *advent* to *epiphany*, marriage should be prohibited: and which doctrine of devils is translated from their rubrick to ours.

As for bowing to the altar, and to the east, and as entrance into churches and
 19. *bowing at the Altar and to the East.* temples, they are reverences which seem to be fetched from an elder date, viz, from the pagan idolaters, and from whom the superstitious ancients and papists had them, and we from them. Dr. Willet in his *Synop. Papif.* p. 492, 493. saith, that bowing at the *Altar* and name of *Jesus*, are superstitious idolatries.

As for ecclesiastical orders and officers of the lord arch-bishop, lord bishops,
 20. *Ecclesi. orders.* deans, arch-deacons, &c. and

the supremacy exercised one over another in the church of England; they are so far from having the stamp of primitive antiquity, that they are not to be found therein, at least for the three or four first centuries.

Dr. Stillingfleet in his *Irenecum*, p. 177, tells us after this manner viz. "That whether any shall succeed the apostles in superiority of power over Presbyters, or all remain governing the church in an equality of power, is no where determined by the will of Christ in the scripture, which contains his ROYAL LAW, and therefore we have no reason to look upon it as any thing flowing from the power and authority of Christ as mediator, and so not necessarily binding to christians.

And further assures us, that episcopal men cannot shew by the word of God, neither by the practice of the apostles, nor so much as by the *primitive church*, that a minister of *Jesus Christ* hath had any superintendency over several private churches, or that a bishop hath ordained ministers by his sole and pure authority, as is now practised in England, or that he who is not naturally invested with any authority, should have the power to delegate others, and much more secular persons."

And if any would be better satisfied herein, there are two late pices, which may fully do it, viz. one by Dr. Owen, in a book called, *The Order and Communion of Evangelical Churches*; and the other in a book called, *No Evidence for Diocesan Churches and bishops in the primitive times*.

The primitive fathers were against dedicating of churches to saints and angels.

Austin saith, if we build a church of stones or wood
 21. dedica. of church-
 es to saints & angels.

unto any most excellent angel, are we not accursed and anathematized from the truth, and from the church of God, because then we give unto a creature that service which is due unto God only?" Cont. maxim. lib. 1, Arg. 11, de Spir. Sancto.

Erasmus upon Austin's words, hath in the margin marked thus—"This is done now to each one of the divi, or saints; viz. not a church erected without such a dedication."

Pope *Vitellianus* brought in organs and other musical instruments into the church about the 8th century, oper. lib. 1, c. 7.

Rogation week, or Gange-days, were ordained by pope *Leo* 444, as saith *Platina*, *Massieu* and *Polydore Virgil*.

Pope *Zacharias*, in the year 737, ordained priests gowns, tippets, and four-cornered caps. *Gbro. Achil. Fascicul. Temp.*

Pope *Boniface* ordained Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday fasts; as saith *Platina*.

And that anno 425. Pope *Boniface*, ordained virgils, or saints eves fasts; as *Polydore Virgil* and *Pantaleon* affirm.

That which is called the apostles creed was not, as now in our liturgy, known in the primitive times, but has past great alterations.

1. It is manifest the fathers in the first ages do give us the creed in other words, not one of them

giving us this form for above 300 years after Christ. *Ignatius, Irenæus, Origen, Tertullian*, write the churches faith, but none of them in this form.

2. We have bishop Usher, that great searcher into antiquity, giving us an account of the additions made to it, (in his *Dissert. de Symbol. p. 16.*) viz. [*Maker of Heaven and Earth*] was a new addition, not in the ancient copies. (2.) [*Conceived*] is added; the old form is, *born of the Holy Ghost*. (3.) The word [*dead*] is added. (4.) [*Descended into Hell*] is added. (5.) The name of [*God Almighty*] to the articles of *Christ's sitting at the right hand of God*. (6.) [*Catholic*] is added to *holy church*. (7.) [*Communion of saints*] is added. And (8.) [*Life Everlasting*] is added. And which additions, saith bishop Usher, were not made at once, but at several times. And the bishop affirms, that the Nicene was as confidently and more anciently called the apostles creed.

As for the Anthanasian creed, *quicumque vult*, &c. fathered upon Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, in the 4th 28 *The Athanasian creed*. age; it appears to be otherwise and to have no such stamp of primitive antiquity, as Dr Burnet (hist. of reform. part 2. B. 1. p. 167.) informs us, viz. that they went according to the received opinion, that Athanasius was the author of that creed, which is now found not to have been compiled until near three ages after him

Secondly, It doth appear that what was of pure antiquity, and in use in those first centuries, viz. 2, 3, and 4, are *What was of* either not used, or blotted out of *primitive anti-*

the liturgies, having been here-
tofore in use. *quity, left out
of the liturgy.*

The protestant reconciler, part
1. chap. 8, from page 261, to 299, gives an account of the ancient rites and ceremonies in use amongst the ancient churches and fathers, now laid aside; viz. love-feasts, kifs of charity, deaconesses, praying standing from easter till Whitsuntide; dipping, or plunging the baptized, yea, the trine immersion; deferring baptism 'till easter or whitsunday; exorcism, sufflation, anointing the sick, chrysm, white garment; milk and honey to the new-baptized; giving the eucharist to the infant, from the 3d to the 12th century; mingling water with the sacramental wine; all eating of one loaf in the supper; to send the eulogia or broken bread to the absent, to receive standing or in a table gesture; to pray for the dead, &c. all which are rejected. And many of these, though in the first common-prayer in Edward the sixth's time laid aside, as the said author, p. 298, tells us, concluding thus:

"Hence we may see how vainly it is pretended, that these ceremonies were retained and imposed, to manifest the justice and equity of the reformation, by letting their enemies see, they did not break communion with them for mere indifferent things, or that they left the church of *Rome* no further than she left the ancient church; as saith Dr. Stillingfleet. When it is manifest, says he, that we left off praying for departed saints, the unction of the sick, the mixing water with the sacramental wine, the chrysm, exorcism, the anointing the baptized per-

Prot. Reconcil. p. 298.

son, crossing the breast, and at the consecration of the eucharist, and the baptismal water, with many other things which were retained in the ancient church, and in the liturgy of Edward 6.

Thus you see, that notwithstanding the great cry of symbolizing with primitive antiquity, and not at all with Rome, that the latter appears to be as true as the other is false, their liturgies, rites and ceremonies, being (as said) a composition of pagan, papal inventions, with some novel additions of their own, and primitive antiquity almost wholly excluded. And it is very observable to consider what alterations have been made in Edward the sixth's liturgy, to gratify the papists, as omitting that clause of the litany, FROM THE BISHOP OF ROME, AND ALL HIS DETESTABLE ENORMITIES; and that in the commination, CURSED BE THE WORSHIPERS OF IMAGES; and have left out that exhortation, which is condemned as a most vile abomination in their usual masses, where people gaze but do not communicate.

Secondly, In the next place it will appear (that we do not symbolize with antiquity in our rites and ceremonies) 2d. *That we* that we do symbolize in most, *do symbolize* if not in all of them, with popery, *with popery.* though positively denied by the learned.

Which is manifest, *First*—By the several particulars before mentioned; for as the church of England doth not symbolize with primitive antiquity therein, as it is plain they do not (if our author speaks true) so they do fully symbolize with popish novelty, as the proofs make

manifest, both in the kneeling at the altar, cross in baptism, surplice, &c.

Secondly, This symbolizing with popery in our rites and ceremonies, appears by
 2. *By confessions of parties.* what is fully owned and acknowledged by parties themselves.

The principal part of worship (both as to matter and manner) performed in the church of England, is contained in the rubric, or service-book, by law established; which in the beginning of the reformation in Henry the eighth's time, was no other than the Romish liturgy, some parts only being translated into English, viz. the creed, pater-noster, ten commandments and litany. Edward VI went further, translated it all into English, yet retaining the same service, word for word, except some alterations; for so Mr. Fox tells us in the King and Council's letter to the Devonshire men, about the alteration of their mass-book, who by the instigation of their priests, had been stirred up to rebellion; wherein; it is thus told them, as recorded, *Act. & Mon. Vol. 2. p. 1189.*

“As for the service in the English tongue, it perchance seems to you a new service; and yet indeed it is NO OTHER BUT THE OLD, THE SELF SAME WORDS in English, for NOTHING is altered, but to speak with knowledge, that which was spoken with ignorance, only a few things taken out, so fond, that it had been a shame to have heard them in English.”

Some alterations were made afterwards in the 2d. of Edward the VI. and some by queen Elizabeth, and some few by king James; but the body and essentials of it continued, and was preserved; for so saith king Charles II. in his preface to the

common-prayer, annexed to the act of uniformity in these words :

“That we find that in the reigns of several princes since the reformation, the church upon just and weighty considerations hereunto moving, hath yielded to make such alterations in some particulars, as in their respective terms were thought convenient, yet so as the main body and essentials of it (as well in the chiefest materials, as in the frame and order thereof) have still continued the same unto this day, and yet do stand firm and unshaken, notwithstanding all vain attempts, and impetuous assaults made against it by such men as are given to change.”

In confirmation whereof, you have the testimony of king James, as Mr. Calderwood in his history of the church of Scotland informs us, who tells us, that king James in the eighth session of the general assembly held at Edinburgh, August 4, 1590, said these words in his speech to them : viz. “The kirk of Geneva keep pasch and yule, were of no constitution. And as for our neighbour kirk of England, their service is an evil said mass in English ; they want nothing of the mass but the liftings ; but that the kirk of Scotland was the sincerest in the world.”

14, Chap. 2.

*Calderwood's
church history,
p. 256.*

So that you have the acknowledgment and grant of three kings to the truth hereof, that the public worship and service of the protestant church of England, contained in the English liturgy, and practised in the church, is the same in the main body and essentials, chiefest materials, frame and order

with that of the popish; and whoever will take the pains to search into the popish breviary, ritual, missal, and pontifical, which four comprehended their whole liturgy, will find tho' there may be some alterations and variations, in several particulars; yet as the king grants, the substance and chiefest materials and order is the same, and that ours is taken out of theirs, viz. *colleets, mattins, evening-songs, epistles, gospels, creeds, litanies, consecration, administration of sacraments, baptism of infants, with gossips to answer for them, kneeling at the altar, confiteor, absolution, confirmation, burial, matrimony, visitation of the sick, ordination of archbishops, bishops, &c.* And which will appear particularly by what follows.

Dr. More in his mystery of iniquity, *lib. 2, chap. 22, p. 468*, says thus:

Mystery of iniquity, l. 2, ch. 22, p. 468.

"For undoubtedly our heroical reformers did not, as is the use of some, act out of peevishness and spite, and to please their own

humour and impetuosity of spirit, as being part of the chaste spouse of christ, the true apostolic church the mother of us all, deals as a mother with all those that profess themselves in any sense children of Christ's church, and therefore would not have them divided more than needs; whence it is that out of a spirit of charity and tender kindness, she in some things in themselves indifferent (and what indifferent things they are you have heard) humbly condescended to symbolize with that lapsed lady of Rome, to bring off her abused paramours to the pure worship of God; which condescension, as is well known, took good effect for some space of years, and the catholics joined in public

prayer and service with us [and well they might, being as our three kings have granted so much their own, only in the English tongue] till that harlot that makes nothing of having her children divided, forcibly rent off the English Roman catholic from so reasonable and christian a communion; and yet, saith he, does not our church cease to use this charitable courtship and sweet condescension towards them still, [viz. yet symbolizing with her] to win them off to such a worship, as is every way as graceful as their own?"

Dr Stillingfleet in his irenicum, speaks to this purpose; viz. "that the great reason why our first reformers *Dr. Stillingfl.* did so far comply with the papists, was to gain and lay a bait *in his irenic. c.* for them, and which, he hopes, *7, f. 5, p. 123.* was never intended to be an hook for the protestant."

Thirdly, Will not the symbolizing with popery appear more particular, by comparing our divine service in the common prayer-book and rubric with their divine service in their mass-book and rubric; and how much we have taken them for our pattern, and follow their direction in the particulars following; viz. *3dly. By comparing their divine service and ours together.*

First, In the time when divine service and public worship is to be performed.

Secondly, In the divine service itself, which is to be performed.

Thirdly, In the rites and ceremonies performed in divine service and worship.

First, As to the times of worship, their breviary, and kalender divide the year into feasts, vigils, fasts, and working-days; So do we take ours directly from them, dividing our kalender by theirs, both as to the feasts, vigils, fasts, and working-days. It is true, they have more than we, but all ours are found in theirs, and taken from them, as our ritual makes manifest. For instance :

1. Their Feasts are divided in Moveables and fixed : So are ours. Their *Moveable Feasts* and *Holy Days* are,

1. Their *Easter-Day*, on which the rest depend, is always the first *Sunday* after the first full-Moon, which happens next after 21st of *March*; and if the full moon happens upon a *Sunday*, *Easter Day* is the *Sunday* after, with a vigil before : So ours from them expressly.

2. Their *Advent-Sunday* is always the nearest *Sunday* to the feast of St. *Andrew*, whether before or after, and to four *Sundays* after : So ours directly.

3. Their <i>Septuagesima Sunday</i> , 9	} Weeks before Easter : So ours.
4. Their <i>Sexagesima Sunday</i> , 8	
5. Their <i>Quinquagesima Sund.</i> 7	
6. Their <i>Quadragesima Sund.</i> 6	
7. Their <i>Rogation-Sunday</i> 5 weeks	} aft <i>Eas-</i> <i>ter</i> : So ours.
8. Their <i>Ascension Day</i> is 40 days.	
9. Their <i>Whitsunday</i> , with a vigil, 7 w.	
10. Their <i>Trinity Sunday</i> is 8 weeks.	} And 24 <i>Sundays</i> after <i>Trinity</i> .

2. Their *fixed feasts* are as follows, viz.

The Circumcision of our Lord Jesus Christ, the first of *January*.

2. The Epiphany, 6 January. *Fixed Feasts.*
 3. Their Conversion of St. Paul, 25 of January.
 4. Their purification of the blessed Virgin, with a vigil, 2 February.
 5. Their St. Matthias 24 Feb. with a vigil before it.
 6. Their annunciation of their Virgin, 25 March and vigil.
 7. Their St. Mark, 25 April.
 8. Their St. Philip and Jacob, 1 May.
 9. Their St. Barnabas, 11 June.
 10. Their Nativity of St. John Bapt. 24 June and vigil.
 11. Their St. Peter, the 29th June and vigil.
 12. Their St James, the 25 July and vigil.
 13. Their St. Bartholomew, 24. August & vigil.
 14. Their St. Matthew, 21 September and vigil.
 15. Their St. Michael, { So ours to which we }
29th Sept. { add and all Angels. — }
 16. Their St. Luke, 18 October and vigil.
 17. Their St. Simon and Jude, 28 October & vigil.
 18. Their All-Saints. 1 November and vigil.
 19. Their St. Andrew, 30 November and vigil.
 21. Their Nativity of our Lord, 25 Dec. & vigil.
 22. Their St. Stephen, 26 December.
 23. Their St. John the Evangelist, 27 December.
 24. Their St. Innocents, 28 December.
 25. Their Monday and Tuesday in Easter-week.
 26. Their Monday and Tuesday in Whitfun-week.
- So are ours directly.

Their days of fasting.

1. Their Forty days of Lent. 5.
2. Their Ember-days at the four seasons, being Wednesday, Friday, Saturday, af-

Fasting-Days. After the first Sunday in *Lent*, the feast of *Pentecost*, September 14, and December 13.

Their three *Rogation* days, being the *Mondays*, *Tuesdays* and *Wednesdays* before Holy *Thursday*, or the ascension of our Lord.

4. And all the *Fridays* in the years. So are ours in like manner.

Thus do we symbolize expressly, or rather take them for our ritual and pattern, as to the times of worship, ours being but a transcript of theirs, and which they practised so many hundred years before us. And of all which, not one word of direction in all the New-Testament. If it be said, *who hath required all these Feasts, Fasts, Holy-days, &c. at our hands* (must we not say, our Sovereign Lord, *the Pope*) who ordained all this service for us, to the denying of the sovereignty of Christ, as tho' he was not the only Lawgiver, being wiser than what is written.

If we must keep Holy-Days for all the Apostles, and the other saints of the Pope's making, why not for the *Patriarchs* and *Prophets*? Why not for St. *Enoch*, St. *Seth*, St. *Noah*, St. *Abraham*, St. *Lot*, St. *Moses*, St. *Job*, St. *David*, St. *Samuel*, St. *Isaiab*, St. *Jeremiab* & &c.

Secondly, In the divine service itself, which is to be performed at the prefixed
2d. As to the times aforesaid : Which they
divine Service have divided into *mattins* and *evening songs*; and so we, after their
itself. example, and appropriated to the
particular *feasts, fests, vigils, offices of baptism, supper, marriage, burial, confirmation, visita-*

tion of the sick, churching of women, &c. So we directly.

The substance or matter of their divine service, consists in collects, or short prayers, confessions, absolutions, prescript lessons of psalms, epistles, gospels, prophets, apocrypha, litanies, anthems or canticles, and communications, appropriated to the several offices above said. All which is the substance or matter of our divine service, in all parts of it appropriated & applied to the several respective offices aforesaid. It is true, there may be some variation in the collects and lessons, litanies and anthems, though many times the very same word for word, and to the days and occasions they appointed them. These six canticles are word for word from the mass-book, viz. 1. *Benedicite omnia opera.* 2. *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel.* 3. *Magnificat anima mea.* 4. *Nunc dimittis.* 5. *Quicumque vult.* 6. *Te Deum laudamus*, with *gloria patri*, as they have directed to be repeated often and after every psalm; and *gloria in excelsis*, and *pater noster* is to be often repeated in every office and exercise.

Thirdly. In RITES and CERIMONIES.

Do they kneel at confession and absolution? So we.

Do they repeat the *pater noster*, kneeling, after the priest? So we.

Do they stand at *gloria patri*? So we.

Do they stand up and repeat the *apostles creed*? So we.

Do they repeat after the minister the *kyrieelyson christeelyson*, kneeling? So we.

Do they on reading or singing *quicumque vult*, or *athanasius creed*, stand? So we.

Do they on saying or singing *litanies*, make responses by the people? So we.

Do they keel at the alter when they partake of the eucharist, or Lord's supper? So we.

Do they on the rehearsal of the Ten Commandments, kneel, asking mercy and grace after every command? So we.

Do the priest and people read the psalms alternately, verse by verse? So we.

Do they sit at reading the lessons? So we.

Do they uncover themselves in the churches? So we.

Do they sing anthems, and canticles, and psalms and prayers, with musick, vocal and instrumental, as organs, flutes, viols, &c? So we in our cathedrals.

Do they bow to the east, and name of Jesus? So we. Of all which not one word in all the New-Testament.

Fourthly, Is there not a symbolizing with popery in the places of worship?

Atby, As to the places of worship. The places of worship are either such as were built, and consecrated by the papists which we took from them, retaining the saints names

they are dedicated to, as St. Mary, St. Peter, St. Paul, All-Saints, or such places as we have built by their example, posited east and west: consecrated and dedecated to some saint or angel, and which we take to be more holy than any other place, as they did; and give great reverence by uncovering the head, and bending the knees, and upon entrance into it, bowing to the east and altar placed therein—And keep the annual feast of dedication, *Wake, or Panagalia*, as papists and the heathen be-

fore them did. Of all which, not one word in all the New-Testament.

Fifthly, Do we not also, symbolize with them in the priesthood, who are principally to minister in those places of worship? *5thly. in the Priesthood.*

Have they superior priests viz. bishops and arch-bishops, in the room of the heathen flamins and arch flamins for sacerdotal service in provinces and diocesses? So have we. Have they inferior priests, distinguished by dignities, names and services; as deans, chapters, brebends, arch-deacons, to minister in cathedrals; and parsons, vicars, and curates, to officiate in parishes? So we.

Have they proper, distinguishing habits for their clergy, and particularly vestments for their holy ministrations as *albs, surplices, chasubles, amicts, gowns, copes, maniples, zones, &c*? So we.

Of all which, not one word in all the New-Testament. That we do symbolize with them in the ordination of the Priesthood, take a brief parallel of the *Pontificals*, viz. the Romish and the English.

Romish Pontifical.

1. *Tempora ordinati-*
onum sunt,
4. Ordina- *&c* The
tion. times of or-
dination are
the sabbaths, *in omnibus*
quatuor temporibus, Ro-

English Pontifical.

1. We declare, That
no deacons, or minister-
be ordained but only up-
on Sundays immediately
following *Jejuna qua-*
tuor temporum commons
ly called *Ember-weeks*,

Roman Pontifical.

man pontifical, de ordinibus conferendis.

2. *Ordinationis sacrorum Ordinum.* The ordination of holy orders shall be in the times appointed, and the cathedral church, with the canons of the said church being present thereat, shall be publicly celebrated in time of divine service. *Ibid.*

3. They are taken to the order of presbyters who have continued in the office of a deacon at least a whole year, except for the profit and necessity of the church, it shall otherwise seem good unto the bishop. *Ibid.*

4. *Episcopus autem Sacerdotibus.* But the bishop, priests being adjoined to him, and other prudent men, skilful in the divine law, and exercised in ecclesiastical functions, shall diligently examine the person's age—of him that is to be ordained.

English Pontifical.

Constit. and Can. Eccl. Can. 31.

2. And this be done in the cathedral or parish church, where the bishop resideth, and in the time of divine service, in the presence not only of the arch-deacon, but of the dean. *Ibid.*

3. And here it must be declared unto the deacon, that he must continue in that office the space of an whole year, except for reasonable causes it shall otherwise seem good unto the bishop. The book of *ordering priests and deacons.*

4. The bishop, before he admit any person to holy orders, shall diligently examine him in the presence of those ministers, that assist him at the imposition of hands, *Can. 35.*

Romish Pontifical

5. *Nullus ad Ordinem*

—None shall be admitted to the order of a deacon, before he be 23 years old, nor to the order of presbytery before the 25th year of his age.

6. *Archia Diaconis offerens*—The arch-deacon presenting those who are to be promoted to the order of deacons (each of them being decently habited) unto the bishop, sitting in his seat before the altar, saith, *Reverend Father.*—

7. The Bishop shall ask, do you know them to be worthy? The arch-deacon shall answer, as much as human frailty suffers me to know, I know and testify that they are worthy.

8. The bishop shall speak to the clergy and people, if any one hath ought against these persons, let him come forth,

English Pontifical

5. None shall be admitted a deacon except he be 23 years of age, and every man which is admitted a Priest shall be full 24 years old: *The preface to the manner and form of making priests and deacons.*

6. The arch-deacon, or his deputy, shall present unto the bishop (sitting in his chair, near to the holy table) such as desire to be ordained deacons (each of them being decently habited) saying these words *Reverend Father.*—

7. The bishop shall say —take heed that the persons whom you present unto us be apt and meet for their learning —The arch-deacon shall answer I have enquired of them and also examined them, and think them so to be.

8. Then the bishop shall say to the people—brethren, if there be any of you who knoweth any impediment or not—
I.

Romish Pontifical.

and with confidence,
speak for God, and be-
fore God.

9. Lastly the bishop
takes and delivers to
them all the book of the
gospel, saying receive
the power of reading the
gospel in the church of
God.

10. The bishop shall
say, the ministers and
chaplains answering lord
have mercy upon us ;
O God the Father of
Heaven have mercy up-
on us ; O God, the Son,
redeemer of the world,
have mercy upon us ;
that it may please thee
to bless, sanctify, and
consecrate these elect.
R. We beseech thee to
hear us, good Lord.

11. They sing one and the same hymn, only the
one is in *Lattin*, the other in *English*.

*Veni Creator Spiritus,
Mentes tuarum visita.
&c.*

Romish Pontifical.

12. The bishop shall

English Pontifical.

able crime in any of
these persons, let him
come forth in the name
of God, and shew what
it is.

9. Then the bishop
shall deliver to every one
of them the New Testa-
ment, saying take thee
authority to read the gos-
pel in the church of
God.

10. The bishop with
the clergy and people
shall sing and say the lit-
any ; O God, the Fa-
ther of Heaven have
mercy upon us misera-
ble sinners ; O God, the
Son, redeemer of the
world have mercy on us ;
that it may please thee to
bless these thy servants.
Respon.—We beseech
thee to hear us, good
Lord.

*Come Holy Ghost, our
souls inspire,
And enlighten with Ce-
lestial fire.*

English Pontifical.

12. The bishop shall

Romish Pontifical.

lay his hands severally upon the head of each of them, kneeling upon their knees before him, saying to every one, receive the holy ghost, whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained.

13. The peace of God be always with you; the blessing of God almighty the Father, Son and holy ghost, descend upon you.

Of all which progress, not one word in all the New-Testament.

AND as a further confirmation of our symbolizing with popery in our rites and service, take a few instances :

First, That the papists not only so long approved our *liturgy*, and kept their communion in our church in that worship, as before remarked from Dr. *Moore*; but also, that the popes themselves have offered to confirm the same, as Dr. *Morton's* appeal discovers, and that pope *Pius IV.*, and *Gregory XIII.*, offered to Queen *Elizabeth* to confirm the *English* liturgy, as *Cambden* in the life of Queen *Elizabeth* testifies. Dr. *Boys* produceth

English Pontifical

lay his hands severally upon the heads of every one that receives the order of Priesthood, the receivers humbly kneeling on their knees, and the Bishop saying, receive the holy ghost; whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained.

13. The peace of God —and the blessing of God almighty, the Father, Son and holy ghost be among you, and remain with you always.

Explic. Quest. illust. 4. p. 46.

and 112.

the pope's letter, and *Bristow's* approbation in his 39th motive.

And that the *Jesuit* Dr. *Carrier* saith, " That the common-prayer and catechism contain nothing contrary to the *Romish* service. *Mountague* asserts: that our service is the same in most things with the church of *Rome*, and that the differences are not so great, that we should make any separation.

Two famous instances more we *Com. Prayer-* have mentioned in a book called, *unmasked*, p. 9. the *Common Prayer-Book Unmasked*, p. 9. " One of a *Jesuit*, who coming not many years since to the service at *St. Paul's*, declared he liked it exceeding well; neither had he any exception to it, but that it was not done by their priests.

" The other that upon the pope's bull that interdicted Queen *Elizabeth*, Secretary *Walsingham* procured two persons to come into England from the pope, to whom he shewed the London and Canterbury service (in their Cathedrals) in all the pomp of it; who thereupon declared, that they wondered the pope should be so ill informed and advised to interdict a prince, whose service and ceremonies so symbolize with his own; and therefore returning to Rome, they possessed the pope, that they saw no service, ceremonies, or orders in England, but might serve very well in Rome; whereupon the Bull was recalled,

As to the taking of collects out of the *Mass book*, it is said by the Resolver, p. 43.

Objection 4. That if those prayers are good, which he affirms to be very good; then such a symbolizing (he saith) cannot make them bad.

To which it is replied, that the goodnes or badnes of worship and service, as to the matter and form, is to be measured not by our fancies, but the rule of God's word : But we do not find any such pattern of shreds of prayers or collects, to be said or sung, though such things pope Gregory found in the ritual of *Numa Pompilius*, which were said or sung in their processions to their Gods. The *Alcaron*, *Talmud* and *Apocrypha* may have, as we suppose, good things in them, as well as the *Pagan* and *Papal* Mass-Books ; must we therefore, put them into our prayers ?

Therefore, this kind of collecting, we must, by his favour, judge bad, because not to be found in Christ's, but in the *heathen* and *anticristian* platform, and as not being of divine but humane invention ; and, therefore, having been abused to idolatry, ought to be rejected by us, because we are commanded not to take of the *Babylonish* materials, *a corner, nor a foundation stone*, Jer. 51. 26. Nor to make a *Lindsey-wolfey* Medley in God's worship, Lev. 19. 19. Nor to swear by the Lord and by *Malchim*, Zeph. 15. being required to take heed to ourselves, that we be not ensnared, and that we do not inquire, saying, how did these nations serve their Gods ? even so will we do likewise : We are commanded not to do so unto the Lord our God. But that whatsoever God commands, that we are to observe and do, not adding thereto, or diminishing therefrom, Deut. 12. 30. &c.

The learned *Macovius*, on Lev. 19. 19. saith, " That the sacred rites of idolaters, though they be things in themselves indifferent, are not to be retained, because all conformity with idolaters is

to be avoided ;" as also saith *Zanchy, Junius, Calvin, Beza, Mollerus, Danaus, yea Lyra*, tho' a *Papist*.

But what do you say to the Lord's-prayer ?

Objection. Must we forbear that too, because we find it in their Mass-Book, though so positively enjoined by Christ to use it, who bids us expressly, *Luke 11. 2. that when we pray, we should say, our Father, &c.* Therefore whoever will pray it or neglect it ; we must pray that very set-form of prayer, in those very words, when we pray.

Answer. To which we say, that it is a great mistake, that Christ hereby in this scripture, has appointed this to be a set-form to be prayed by all in these pre-script words, when we pray unto God ; for then it would be unlawful to use any other words than these herein expressed in our prayers ; and that the disciples and apostles sinned in using other words in those their prayers we read of in scripture ; and so the church of England in forming so many collects and prayers.

Secondly, The church of Rome and England also are great transgressors, to presume to vary from Christ's precept, in altering or adding to the form of words expressed by Christ in *Luke 11*, for so they have done—they say, *Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them who trespass against us ;* when there are no such words in Christ's prayer : His words are *Forgive us our sins* (or debts, *Officemata*) *for we also forgive every one that is indebted to us.* And add also the doxology, which is not in this prayer, *Luke 11*. But you will say, as to the doxology, it is expressed by Christ, at

the end of the same prayer in his sermon on the Mount, *Matb. 6.* It is very true, it is so, where he delivers this prayer not as a set form, but a pattern of prayer, *AFTER THIS MANNER PRAY YE, Outoos, to this purpose*; and which is an explanation of what he says, *Luke 11. 2.* when ye pray say, *Our Father*; that is, after this manner, and which only can be a warrant to the church of England or any other, to make such alterations; Christ no more intending to tye the disciple, who desired to be instructed how to pray to this form of words, nor any other disciple, than he did the twelve disciples, when He sent them out to preach with this word of command, *Mat. 10. 7. Preuch, saying, the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand*; that they should thereby be tyed to those very words in their preaching (and preach nothing else :) But as this was given as a text or theme to preach by, so the other to pray by. The disciple, who proposes the question, ver. 1. desires that they may be taught to pray, as *John* taught his disciples; but such a set-form of prayer we find not, that *John* in his teaching gave to his disciples; neither do we find, that any of Christ's disciples, or apostles, did pray this very prayer; to which our expositors do agree.

Grotius saith on *Luke 11. 2.* That Christ herein teacheth us a compendium of those things we are to pray for: At that time they were not bound to the use of so many words and syllables. As also *Tertullian, Cyprian, Musculus, Cornelius, a Lapid*; and *Austin* himself saith, *Liberum est*, it is free for us to ask the same things in the Lord's prayer, *Aljis atque aliis Verbis*, sometimes one way, sometimes another,

Does not Paul tell us expressly, *he knew not what to pray for, but as the spirit gave him utterance*? Rom. 8. But he did know what to pray for, if this was to be his prescript form.

Tertullian saith, They pray, *sine Monitore*, without a Monitor [*or Common-prayer-book.*] And Socrates tells us, "that among all the christians of that age, scarce two were to be found that used the same words in prayer."

Chrysostom on Rom. 8, *Homil.* 14, saith, "with other gifts they had the gift of prayer, which was also called, the spirit; and he who had this gift, did pray for the whole multitude,* for what was expedient unto the church; and also did instruct others to pray."

And though we find neither Christ, nor his apostles imposed this, nor any other form of prayer to be used by us (but that we pray in the spirit and praise in the spirit, and that God being a spirit, seeketh and accepteth such worshippers) yet we find the popes & their councils imposing this & other lituagical forms.

The council of *Toledo*, *Anno.* 618, decreed in the 9th canon, "that every day, both in public and private worship, none of the clergy omit the lords prayer, under pain of deposition; since (say they) Christ hath prescribed this, saying, when you pray, say, *our Father &c.*" And how formally and carnally, if not idolatrously, has the *pater-noster* been muttered over by the superstitious *Papists* ever since?

And may we not enquire, whether in the following particulars, we do not symbolize with the Romish worship herein?

First, by enjoining and imposing this as a set-

form as they do, without the sanction of any sacred text to warrant our so doing.

Secondly, By an often repetition of the same form in the same exercise, three or four times at least, insomuch that in cathedral services, it is said or sung ten or twelve times a day, contrary to Christ's express words, viz. *That when we pray, we should not make vain repetitions, as the Heathen do; for they think they shall be heard for their much speaking*, Mat. 6, 7.

Thirdly, By enjoining the whole congregation, both men and women, to repeat the same after the priest, though no such direction by Christ; nay, he forbids women to pray or prophecy in the church, 1 Cor. 14, 14, &c.

Fourthly, In singing this prayer in cathedrals, by responses of priest and people with music, without the least divine authority for such song-praying.

The Resolver goes on, p. 43. Our brethren, [surely] will allow of reading the scriptures, as they do, *Objection.* viz. *Epistles, gospels, psalms.*

To which we say, we do surely allow of reading the scriptures, but not as they do; especially in those epistles, *Answer.* gospels and psalms, which are given us in the liturgy, for the following reasons:

First, Because the epistles, gospels and psalms in the service-book are mis-translated, being taken from the corrupt vulgar Latin bible, which is so extreme faulty, and so much complained of by the learned, both protestants, and others.

Secondly, Because what they call epistles and gospels, are so curtailed and mangled, that they

become quite another thing than the evangelists intended in the gospels, or the apostles, in their epistles, altogether ruining the scope and connection in divers places, as may be instanced in numerous particulars if need were.

Thirdly, Because they have been the invention of the popes, who have so adulterated Christ's pure worship and service, to patch up their idolatrous mass-service, which Gregory (called) the great, compleated as before; fixing and appropriating the Epistles, Gospels and Psalms to the matins and evening songs, throughout the year, as the Romish Kalender, whose copy (it is suspected) we imitate, writes after.

Fourthly, That whilst it is supposed we may be instructed in the lessons ordered to be read on the (so called) Sundays and holy days, through the whole Bible, they have omitted so much of the canonical Scriptures, as the greatest part of *Leviticus*, *Ruth*, *Chronicles*, *Nehemiah*, *Esther*, *Canticles*, *Lamentations*, *Amos*, *Obadiab*, *Jonah*, *Nabum*, *Zephaniab*, *Haggai*, the second epistle to the *Thessalonians*, the second and third of *John*, and most part of the *Revelations*; instead of which, several parts of Apochryphal writings are read, which are esteemed by the learned, to be fabulous, and favouring of the too much adored vanities of Gentilism.

Fifthly, Because they have omitted all the original titles or inscriptions of the Psalms, which are a great part of the Holy-Scriptures, which have so great a tendency to unfold the mysteries in the Psalms, and instead of them retain the popish latin titles, printed over our English Psalms.

Sixthly, Because of those additions which were

made to the Scriptures therein, as to the 14th Psalm, three whole verses which are not in any of the original copies; and *gloria patri* to the conclusion of several Psalms ordering it to be said at the reading of every Psalm contrary to *Deut.* 4. 2. *Prov.* 30. 6. *Rev.* 22. 18.

Seventhly, Because the epistles and gospels are ordered to be sung as well as said without the least warrant or direction from the Scriptures.

Eighthly, Because it is ordered in the *rubrick*, to sit at the reading of the epistles, and to stand up to bow and scrape, and respond at the gospel, without any warrant or direction from the scriptures.

Ninthly, Because of the disorderly chopping and interchanging of Scriptures by way of colloquy betwixt the priest and people, viz. *The Lord be with thee*, must the priest say: *and with thy spirit*, must the people say: *open our lips*, must the priest say: *And let our mouths shew forth thy praise*, must the people say. And bandying so often the *Kyrieelleison* and *Christeeleison*, *Lord have mercy upon us*, *Christ have mercy upon us*, betwixt priest and people: For which no rule of direction from God's word, but expressly found in the *mass-book*.

How faulty the liturgy appeared in many of these things, is manifest to many learned episcopal divines, is manifest by that paper, which was drawn up *Anno.* 1641. touching innovations in the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, together with considerations upon the common-prayer, and subscribed by arch-bishop *Usher*, Dr. *Williams*, bishop of Lincoln, Dr. *Prideaux*, after bishop of Worcester, Dr. *Browning*, after bishop of Exeter, Dr. *Hacket*, afterwards bishop of Co-

ventry and Litchfield, Dr. Ward, Dr. Featly, &c. and presented to the then parliament ; wherein they give 35 exceptions against several things in the liturgy. And amongst others, against the corrupt translations of the epistles, and gospels, and psalms ; against the *Apocrypha*, enjoined to be read in the lessons ; against singing of service ; against adding *Gloria Patri* to the psalms ; against the hymns taken out of the mass-book, viz. *Benedicite omnia opera*, &c. against priests vestments, enjoined as were used, 2 *Edw.* 6. against the sign of the cross in baptism, which was heretofore its concomitant afore they went always together ; against prohibiting times of marriage, &c.

Another objection which should have been spoken to before, and which we here
Objection. add, is this ; viz. That it may well be supposed, that the Non-Conformists are very humorous in their groundless and unnecessary scruples whilst they are offended with the church for that her ancient and reverend practice of bowing at the name of Jesus, enjoined in the 18th canon ; and for which they have that positive direction and command, *Phil.* 2, 10, to warrant it.

It is very true, they are indeed, offended at that piece (as they conceive) of voluntary humility and will-worship, because there is no more ground for
Answer bowing at the mentioning of that name, either from that or any other scripture, than for crossing ourselves when that name is named.

For, *First*, if it be a command (as supposed) universally to bow at the mentioning those syllables, and that name Jesus, then are all both in heaven, earth, and under the earth, men, angels and devils

obliged thereto, whenever that name is mentioned ; be it either by a wicked man's blasphemously swearing by it, or a drunken priest's prophanely muttering it, or the mentioning *Jesus* the Son of *Syrach*, or *Bar-Jesus*, the conjurer.

And, *Secondly*, If the supposed command must be understood, to relate to the naming the name of our *Blessed Redeemer* ; it must then be considered which of his names must be meant, because he has many names in scripture, as *Christ*, *Immanuel*, *Jehovah*, *wonderful*, *the everlasting father*, *saviour*, *redeemer*, *son of god*, *prince of peace*, *king of kings*, *lord of lords*, &c. Any of which being much more properly to be understood here, than this of *Jesus* ; because it is the name of *Jesus*, viz. some name of his, and not the name *Jesus*, that is to be bowed to.

Thirdly, Neither can the name be supposed to be meant here, because it relates to a name the father gave him after his death, suffering and exaltation as the words make manifest ; and therefore not that name *Jesus*, which was given him at his circumcision, before his said suffering and exaltation.

Neither, *Fourthly*, Can this sense be admitted as a literal command, that all must bow the knee at that name, because at the same time, all and every one, which make that reverence with the knee, are enjoined with their mouths, to declare that he is the *Lord, to the glory of God the father*, for they are joined together, and why is not one performed as well as the other ?

Therefore, *Fifthly*, It does necessarily respect another thing, than reverencing the syllables of a name, viz. that power, authority and sovereignty,

which the father gave him in glory, as a reward of his suffering, which he himself declared after his resurrection, Mat. 28. *That all power was given him in Heaven and Earth*, Eph. 28. This bowing at the name of Christ in this place, being by the prophet, *Isai. 45. 23, 24.* explained a subjection of all to the universal authority that he shall exercise, *name* often signifying *power* in scripture, *Deut. 26. 19. Psal. 44. 5, 20. and 20. 1, 7.* And therefore, is this very subjection mentioned in the text of an universal bowing the knee to his authority, referred to the judgment day, when all, both *men, Angels, and devils* must be subject to him, *Rom. 14. 11.* And it is observable, that the words are *En to Onomati, in the name*, not *at the name of Jesus*; viz. In his *power and authority*, being not a command, but a prophecy when it shall be fulfilled and accomplished when there shall be that universal subjection to the sovereignty of Christ, *that every tongue shall confess; that he is Lord, to the glory of God the father*: as the after words mention: and which shall be, when he shall exert that power that is inherent in him, to *subject all nations* to his authority; when he *takes to himself his great power, and reigns*; when *the kingdoms of this world, shall become the kingdoms of our Lord*; when upon his vesture and his thigh shall a name be written, *king of kings, and Lord of lords*; and when all shall be gathered before him in the judgment day; which I conceive, is the true genuine sense and meaning of these words; and no such thing as a superstitious bowing at the syllables of that name intended; which has been so universally practised, and enjoined, to the just offence of the consciences.

tious, who have not an implicit faith to believe as the Church believes.

Fifthly, Their symbolizing *Imposition* and with popery, in impositions and *persecution*. persecutions of dissenters

Have, and do the papists violently impose their rites, services and ceremonies, and cruelly persecute and persecute the dissenters by *confiscations*, *imprisonments*, and *death itself*? Do not we by our sanguinary laws and executions of them, do the very same; and whereof not one word of warrant in all the New Testament; and how agreeable such practice is to the lamb-like nature of Christ, and his disciples and followers, as also the doctrines and sentiments of many of your own worthies, as well as the suffrage of several of our Kings and Parliaments judge you.

And whereof I beg leave to give you the following instances, viz. we shall begin with the famous Jewell, who notes it out of Chrysostom,

“*Homil. on Matthew*, 19. does the sheep ever persecute the wolf; no, but the wolf the sheep; so Cain persecuted Abel, not Abel, Cain; so Ishmael persecuted Isaac, not Isaac, Ishmael; so the Jews, Christ, not Christ, the Jews; so Hereticks, the Christians, not Christians, Hereticks; whereby (saith Jewell) he plainly implies, that persecution for conscience sake is a very unchristian, or Antichristian symptom.” And smartly again in the same Homily—“He that is a persecutor is no sheep of Christ’s but a Wolf; which (saith he) should make any man afraid to feel any persecuting motion arise in his breast, as being indications of a Cainish, Ishmaelitish, and Wolfish nature,

*Bish. Jewell's
Apol. p. 543.*

and a certain sign that he is none of the sheep of Christ."

The learned Dr. Moor, in his preface to the *Mystery of Godliness*, hath many plain and pertinent passages to this point, asserting, "That it is

Dr. Moore. an antichristian use of church-government, to direct it to the upholding of useless or mischievous opin-

ions, scandalous ceremonies and ensnaring inventions of men. And what is it (says he) but a notorious specimen of pride, thus to force others to acknowledge, by making them profess to be of their opinion; and what but injustice and barbarous cruelty, to afflict men for what they cannot help, and in what they do not sin; and what but plain rebellion against God, to wrest his sceptre out of his hand, by which he ruleth in the consciences of men, and to usurp his empire to themselves; and again, lastly, (saith he) a mutual agreement in bearing with one anothers dissents, in the non-fundamentals of religion, is really a greater ornament of christianity, than the most exact uniformity imaginable, in being an eminent exercise of christian charity, the flower of all christian graces, and the best way, I think, at the long-run, to make the church as uniform as can justly be desired." Thus far the Doctor.

To this purpose also the great Chillingworth in his 4th chapter, sect. 16. speaks
Chillingworth. thus:

"This presumptuous imposing of the senses of man on the general words of God, and laying them on mens consciences together, under the equal penalty of death and damnation; this vain conceit, that we can speak of the things of

God, better than in the words of God ; this deifying our own interpretations, and tyrannous enforcing them on others ; this restraining of the word of God from that latitude and generality, and the understandings of men from that liberty, wherein Christ and his apostles left them, is, and hath been the only foundation of all the schisms of the church, and that which makes them immoral, the common incendiary of *Christendom*, and that which tears in pieces, not the coat, but the bowels and members of Christ, *Ridente Turca, nec dolente Judæo* : Take away those walls of separation, and all will quickly be one ; take away this persecuting, burning, cursing and damning of men, for not subscribing to them as the words of God ; let those leave claiming infallibility, who have no title to it ; and let them who in words disclaim it, disclaim it also in their actions : In a word, take away tyranny, which is the devil's instrument to support errors, superstitions, and impieties in the several parts of the world, which could not otherwise, long withstand the power of truth ; I say, take away tyranny, and restore the christians to their just and full liberty of captivating their understandings to scripture only, and as rivers, when they have a free passage, run all to the ocean ; so it may well be hoped by God's blessing, that universal liberty thus moderated, may quickly reduce *Christendom* to peace and unity. These thoughts of peace, saith he, I am persuaded, come from the God of peace, and to his blessing I commend them."

This book of Mr. *Cbellingworth's* was licensed by R. *Bayly* vice-chancellor of Oxford, Dr. *Predeaux*, Reg. profess, Dr. *Fell*, and Dr. *Stradling*.

And Dr. *Stillingsfleet* most excellently in his *Irenicum*, to the same purpose tells Dr. *Stillingsfleet*. us in the preface, "That Christ, who came to take away the insupportable yoke of the Jewish ceremonies, certainly did never intend to gall the necks of the disciples with another instead of it ; and it would be strange, the church would require more than Christ himself did, and make more conditions of communion than our Saviour did of discipleship.

The grand commission the apostles were sent out with, was only to teach what Christ had commanded them, not the least intimation of any power given them, to impose or require any thing beyond what he himself had spoken to them, or they were directed to by the immediate guidance of the spirit of God." *And again declares thus*, "That without controversy the main of all the distractions, confusions and divisions of the christian world, hath been by adding other conditions of church communion than Christ hath done."

And speaking of the grand reason our first compilers of the common-prayer had, in taking so much of the popish service, which was to gain over the papists, to them, desires that their charity therein to the papists, may not be a breach of charity to the protestants : His words are these,

"And, certainly, these holy men, who did seek by any means to draw in others, at such a distance from their principles as the papists were, did never intend, by what they did for that end, to exclude any truly-tender consciences from their communion ; that which they laid as a bait for them, was never intended by them as a hook for those of their own profession.

"Dr. Taylor in his *Ductor Dubitantium* tells us wittily, that for a trifling cause to cut off a man (which our lay Chancellors so familiarly do) from the communion of the church, is to do as the man in the fable, espying a fly upon his neighbour's forehead, went to beat it off with a hatchet, and so struck out his brains.

Dr. Tillitson in his sermon before Dr. Tillitson. the parliament, on *Luke* 9. 55. p.

156. *You know not what manner of spirit you are of.* "Which is as if he had said: you own yourselves to be my disciples, but do you consider what spirit now acts and governs you, not that, surely, which my doctrine designs to mould and fashion you into, which is not (*said he*) a furious, and persecuting, and destructive spirit, but mild and gentle, and saving; tender of the lives and interests of men, even of those who are our greatest enemies: You are to consider, that you are not now under the rough and sour dispensation of the law, but under the calm and peaceable institution of the gospel; to which the spirit of *Elias*, though a good man, would be altogether unsuitable, but under the gospel intolerable; for that designs universal love, and peace, and good will: And now no difference of religion, no pretence of zeal for God and Christ, can warrant and justify thy passionate and fierce, thy vindictive and exterminating spirit."

To these we might add the worthy sayings of bishop *Usher*, *Davenant*, *Hall*, which the late worthy author of the protestant reconciler, hath furnished us with, and many more, but let these suffice; only for a conclusion, take a passage of the Lord *Castlemain's*, a great papist, husband to the

Dutchess of *Cleveland*, in his book against Dr. *Floyd*.

“ Sure (*saith he*) these men that persecute others, are beside themselves ; for, if
Lord Castle- they should go but to reckon
main. themselves up together, with all their adherents, they are not the

sixth part of the reformed people in England.” And adds, p. 18. that they have not much reason to reproach the Roman Catholics for the *Parishian* massacre, that of *Ireland*, and the gun-powder-plot, on the 5th of November, 1605, since that these massacres were committed only on those persons whom Rome had anathematized, and proscribed as heretics and apostates ; and it was never known, that Rome persecuted (as the bishops do) those, who adhere to the same doctrine and faith with themselves, or established an inquisition against, the bigots among them, nor against the professors of the strictest piety.

And again tells us in another place, to this purpose, That however the prelates complain of the bloody persecution under *Queen Mary*, it is manifest their persecution exceeds it ; for under her (*saith he*) there were not more than two or three hundred actually put to death : Whereas under their persecution, there has been above treeble that number stifled, destroyed, and ruined in their estates, lives and liberties, being (as is most remarkable) men for the most part of the same spirit and principle with those protestants, who suffered under the prelates in *Queen Mary's* time.

In the next place, as a farther witness against imposition and persecution ; take the following declared sense, and suffrage of several of our kings : viz.

Bede. L. i. ch. 26. tells us, that "King Ethelbert declared after he professed the christian religion, that he would compel none, having been instructed, that it was contrary to the christian religion, which ought to be voluatary, not compulsive."

King James, affirmed, that "for concord there is no nearer way, than diligently to separate things necessary from unnecessary, and bestow all our labour that we may agree in the things necessary; and that in things unnecessary, which are most of the rites and ceremonies, there may be a christian liberty allowed." Apud. Cauf. Ep. ad Car. Pareron.

King Charles the first, in his declaration, *Anno* 1641. saith thus; As for differences among ourselves, for matters indifferent in their own nature concerning Religion, we shall in tenderness to any number of our loving subjects, very willingly comply with the advice of our parliament, that some law may be made for the exemption of tender consciences, from punishment or persecution for such ceremonies, and in such cases, which by the judgement of most men are held to be matters indifferent.

His present majesty in his declaration from Breda, April 4. speaks thus: We do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disturbed, or called into question for differences in opinion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom.

Which was also the declared sense of most of the nobility and gentry at that time; to which they subscribed their names.

The which he often inculcates, *viz.* Declar.

Octob. 25. 1660. We do again remember what we have formerly said from Breda, for the liberty of tender consciences.

And again in his speech May 8. 1661. I do value myself much upon keeping my word, upon making good whatever I promised to my subjects. To which the chancellor repeats.

And again, July 8. 1661. Reminds his promise, as also what the Lords had promised to the same purpose at that time aforementioned which his Majesty calls an honest, generous and Christian declaration signed by the most eminent sufferers amongst them ; Telling them, he would not have it be in any man's power to charge him, or them, with the breach of their words or promises ; which, he saith, would be no good ingredient for the future security.

And again in his declaration, Decemb. 26. 1662. We will remember the confirmations we have made of them upon several occasions in parliament, and as also these things are still fresh in our memory, so are we still firm in the resolution of performing them to the full. And we do conceive ourselves so far engaged in honour, and what we owe to the peace of our dominion ; which we profess, we can never think secure whilst there should be a colour left to the malicious and disaffected, to inflame the minds of so many multitudes upon the score of *conscience*, with despair of ever obtaining the effect of our promises for their ease.

His Majesty's speech to both houses, Feb. 10, 1667. declares thus. " One thing more I hold myself obliged to recommend unto you at this present, which is, that you would seriously think of some course to beget a better union and composure in the

minds of my *protestant subjects* in matters of religion, whereby they may be induced, not only to submit quietly to the government, but also cheerfully give their assistance to the support of it.

And,

In his declaration of indulgence, March 15. 1671, saith, That it was evident by the sad experience of twelve years, that there was little fruit of all those forcible courses, and many frequent ways of coercion that we have used, for the reducing of all erring or dissenting persons. And thereupon granted his indulgence.

Again in his speech to both houses, 1678, says thus : I meet you here with the most earnest desire, that man can have, to unite the minds of all my subjects both to me, and one another, and resolve, it shall be your fault if the success be not suitable to my desires.

Hereupon the parliament, Jan. 10. 1680. from their own inclination and known experience, as well as in obedience to his gracious direction, did for the relieving and better uniting all his protestant subjects, declare in their vote *nemine contradicente*, that "it is the opinion of this House, that the prosecution of protestant dissenters upon the penal laws, is at this time grievous to the subject, a weakening the protestant interest, an encouragement to popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom." And November 6. 1680, resolved *nemine contradicente*, that "it is the opinion of this House, that the acts of parliament made in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, against popish rascals, ought not to be extended against protestant dissenters, having divers laws under consideration, as his majesty directed for the re-

lieving, composing and uniting the protestants :” A bill having passed both Houses for repealing the 35th of *Elizabeth*. Thus you see that imposition and persecution for conscience, does not only symbolize with antichrist, but is the highest contradiction to the name, nature, gospel and followers of Christ, a violent infringer of the law, and light of nature [of doing to others, as we would be done unto ;] as well as the royal law of loving our neighbour as ourselves ; and in utter enmity, not only to those worthy sentiments of our learned and great men, but of our latter kings and parliaments.

As a farther ratification and confirmation, that our English service and ceremony was from the popish race and succession ; take this following historical account, given us by some eminent writers, and famous sons of the church of England.

Cambden in the life of Queen *Elizabeth* assures us, “ That the change of of religion was not in her time suddenly made, but by little and little, by degrees, for the *Roman* religion continued in the same state it was first a full month and more after the death of Queen *Mary*. The 27th of December it was tolerated to have the Epistles, and gospels, the *ten commandments*, the *Symbol*, the *Litany*, and the *Lord's-prayer*, in the vulgar tongue. The 22d of March, the parliament being assembled the order of *Edw. 6.* was re-established, and by an act of the same, the whole use of the *Lord's-supper* granted under both kinds. The 24th of *June*, by the authority of that which concerned the uniformity of public prayers, and administration of the Sacrament, the sacrifice of the mass was abolished, and the liturgy in the English

tongue more and more established. In the month of *July*, the oath of allegiance was proposed to the bishops and other persons; and in August, images were thrown out of the temples and churches, and broken and burnt.

Thus far *Cambden* gives us the steps *Queen Elizabeth* took in the reformation, what she cast off by degrees, and so consequently, what she retained; which was the rest of the popish rites and ceremonies, and which she had a great love to, and liking of which was the reason there was no greater alteration.

Whereof we have this account from *Dr. Burnet*, in his history of reformation.

“*Queen Elizabeth* received some impressions in her father’s reign, in favour of such old rites as he had still retained, and in her own nature, loving state, and some magnifi-

Dr. Burnet’s history of reformation.

cence in religion (as well as in every thing else) she thought, that in her brother’s reign, they had stript it too much of external ornaments, and had made their doctrine too narrow in some points, therefore she intended to have some things explained in more general terms, that so all parties might be comprehended by them, she inclined to keep up images in churches, and to have the manner of Christ’s presence in the sacrament, left in some general words, that those, who believed the corporal presence, might not be drawn away from the church, by too nice an explanation of it.” So far *Dr. Burnet*.

In pursuance to these resolves, the *Queen* attempts the accommodating matters of religion, so unto the *Romish* clergy, as to take them into the

communion of the church of England; as Dr. *Heylin*, affirms; she so effectually compassed it that for several years, the papists continued in the communion of the church, and when they did forsake it, it was not because they approved not of our liturgy, but upon politic considerations, and because the council of Trent had commanded it, and pope Pius the fifth had excommunicated the Queen, and discharged her subjects from their allegiance, and made the going or not going to church, a sign distinctive to difference; a Roman catholic from an English protestant.

Concerning which, take Dr. Heylin's own words in his History of queen Elizabeth.

"There passed another act for recommending and imposing the book of common-prayer and administering the sacrament, according to such alteration and correction as were made therein, by those who were appointed to revise it, as before is said: in the pursuance of which service, there was great care taken for the expunging all such passages in it, as might give any scandal or offence to the popish party, or be urged by them in their excuse for their not coming to church, and joining with the rest of the congregation in Gods public worship. In the Litany first made and published by king Henry the eighth, and afterwards continued in the two liturgies of king Edward the sixth: There was a prayer to be delivered from the tyranny and all the detestable enormities of the bishops of Rome, which was thought fit to be expunged, as giving matter of scandal and dissatisfaction to all that party, or that otherwise wished well to that religion. In the first liturgy of king Edward, the sacrament of the Lords body was deliv-

ered with this benediction; that is to say, *the body of our Lord Jesus, which was given for the preservation of thy body and soul, to life everlasting, &c. the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c.* Which being thought by Calvin and his disciples, to give some countenance to the cross and carnal presence of Christ in the sacrament (which passes by the name of transubstantiation in the school of Rome) was altered into this form into the said liturgy; that is to say, take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving: take and drink this, &c. but the revisers of the book joined both forms together, lest under colour of rejecting a carnal, they might be thought also to deny such a real presence as was defended in the writings of the ancient fathers, upon which ground she expunged also a whole rubrick at the end of the common service; by which it was declared, that kneeling at the participation of the sacrament was required for no other reason, than for the signification of the humble and grateful acknowledgment of the benefits of Christ, given therein unto the worthy receiver, and to avoid that prophana- tion and disorder which otherwise might have ensued, and not for giving any adoration to the sacramental bread and wine there bodily received, or in regard of any real or essential presence of Christ's body and blood; and to come close to the church of Rome, it was ordered by the Queen's injunctions, that the sacramental bread, which the book required only to be made of the finest flour, should be made round in fashion, of the wafers used in the time of Queen Mary.

"She also ordered, that the Lords-table should be placed where the altar stood; and that the accustomed reverence should be made at the name of Jesus.

"Music retained in the church, and all the old festivals observed with their several rites, by which compliances and expunging the passage before mentioned, the book was made so passable amongst the papists, that for ten years they generally repaired to their parish churches without doubt or scruple, as is affirmed not only by Sir Edward Cook in his speech against Garnet, and his charge given at the assizes held at Norwich but also by the queen-Herself, in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, then her ambassador in France.

"The same is confessed by Saunders also, in his book *De Schismate*; and therefore, Dr. Heylin in a few passages after, adds, viz. And now we may behold the face of England, as it was first settled and established under queen Elizabeth, the government of the Church by arch-bishops, and bishops, &c. the liturgy conform to the primitive pattern, [viz. of popery] and all the rites and ceremonies therein prescribed, accommodated to the honor of God, and increase of piety, the festivals preserved in their former dignity, observed with all their distinct offices peculiar to them, and celebrated with a religious concourse of all sorts of people, the weekly fasts, viz. Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays; the holy time of lent, the embracing week, together with the fast of the rogation, severally kept by a forbearance of all kind of flesh, not by virtue of the statute, as in the time of King Edward but as appointed by the church in her public calendar before the book of common-prayer

[so correspondent with Rome.] The sacrament of the Lords-supper, celebrated in most reverend manner; the holy table seated in the place of the altar; the people making their due reverence at their first entrance into the church, kneeling at the communion, the confession and the public prayers, standing up at the creed, the gospels, and the gloria patri, and using the accustomed reverence at the name of Jesus; music retained in all the churches in which, provision has been made for the maintenance of it; or where the people could be trained up, at least to plain song; all which particulars were either established by the laws, or commanded by the queen's injunctions; or otherwise retained, by virtue of some ancient usages, not by law prohibited; nor is much to be admired, that such a general conformity in those ancient [viz. popish] usages was constantly observed in all cathedrals, and the most part of the parish-churches; considering how well they were presided by the court itself, in which the liturgy was officiated every day, both morning and evening, not only in the public chappel, but the private closet celebrated in the chappel with organs, and other musical instruments, and the most excellent voices of men and children, that could be got in all the kingdom, the gentlemen and children in their surplices, and the priests in copes as oft as they attended the divine service at the holy altar: The altar furnished with rich plate, two fair gilt candlesticks, with tapers in them, and a massy Crucifix of silver in the midst thereof, which last remained there for some years, till it was broke in pieces by Pach the fool (no wiser man daring to undertake such a desperate service). at the solicitation of sir Frances

Knoles, the queen's near kinsman by the Caries, and one who openly appeared in favour of the schism at Frankfort; the ancient ceremonies accustomedly observed by knights of the garter, in their adoration towards the altar, abolished by king Edward the 6th, and revived by queen Mary, whereby this queen retained as formerly in her Father's time for which she received both thanks and honor from the very enemies, [viz. the papists] as appears by Harding's epistle dedicatory before his answer to the apology." So far Dr. Heylin.

Thus from what the sons of the church, *Cambden*, *Burnet* and *Heylin* have affirmed, it is apparent, that Queen *Elizabeth* had a natural propensity to favour the papists, and that this was discovered by her making the terms of communion much more easy to the papists than in King *Edward's* time; whereby she became the more difficult and arduous to the protestant dissenters, and whom she rigorously prosecuted for their dissents. *Cambden* informs us, "That about the year, 1583, the Queen (who held it for a maxim, that she ought not to be more remiss in ecclesiastical affairs) advancing *Whitgift* from the see of Worcester to that of Canterbury, above all, commanded him to re-establish the discipline of the church of England, that as then lay dismembered by the connivency of prelates, the obstinacy of innovators, and by the power of some great ones, whilst some ministers using to their own fancy, new rites of services in their private houses, utterly condemning the liturgy, and the appointed manner of administering the sacrament, as being in many things contrary to the scripture, and therefore many refused to go to

church ; to abolish which things, and to reduce them in unity, *Whitgift* propounded three articles to the ministers by them to be subscribed ; but (adds *Cambden*) it is incredible, what controversies and disputations arose upon this, what troubles *Whitgift* suffered of certain noble men, &c." How the said *Whitgift* vexed the poor dissenters, what letters were writ to him from the council, and treasurer *Cecil*, on their complaints, and his answers, you have at large in a late piece, called, *The Harmony between the Old and Present Non-Conformists* ; some small abridgment thereof take as follows, not unworthy of your notice ; viz. in a letter sent unto the arch-bishop of Canterbury, and bishop of London, from her majesty's council, Sept. 20, 1584.

“ We have heard of late times sundry complaints against a great number of preachers, whereby some were deprived of their livings, some suspended from their ministry and preaching ; especially such who instruct the people against your *spiritual courts*, advancing their profits by such kind of proceedings ; and particularly

Part of the Council's letter to the archbishop of Canterbury and bishop of London.

the lamentable estate of the church in the county of Essex ; where there is a great number of zealous and learned preachers suspended from their cures, the vacancy of their place for the most part without any ministry, or preaching, prayers and sacraments ; and in some places, of certain appointed to those void rooms, being persons neither of learning, nor of good names ; and in other places of the country, great numbers notoriously unfit, chargeable with ignorance, and

with great enormous faults, as drunkenness, filthiness of life, gamesters at cards, haunting of ale-houses, and such like, against whom we hear not of any proceeding; but that they are quietly suffered to the scandal of the church, to the offence of good people; yea to the famishing them for want of good teaching and thereby dangerous to the subverting of many weaklings, from their duties to God and her majesty, by secret Jesuits and counterfeited papists, &c."

And in a letter to the arch-bishop, by the lord treasurer *Burleigh*, dated, July 5, 1584, it is said:

"It may please your grace, I am sorry to trouble you so often as I do; but I am more troubled myself, not only with many private petitions of sundry ministers, recommended from persons of credit, for peaceable persons, yet greatly troubled; but also am I daily now charged by counsellors and public persons to neglect my duty in not staying these your grace's proceedings, so vehement, and so general against ministers and preachers, as the papists thereby are greatly encouraged, and evil disposed persons animated, and thereby the Queen's majesty's safety endangered, with those kind of arguments I am daily assaulted, and now my lord, I am come to the sight of an instrument of 24 articles of great length and curiosity, formed in a Romish style, to examine all manner of ministers in this time without distinction of persons; which articles are entitled *Apud Lambeth*, May 1581. to be executed *Ex Officio mero*, &c. which articles I find so curiously penned, so full of branches and circumstances, that I think, the inquisi-

Treasurer Burleigh's letter to Arch-Bishop Whitgift.

tors of Spain, use not so many questions, to comprehend and trap their preys ; I know the canonists can defend these with all their particles, but surely under your grace's correction, this judicial and canonical sifting of poor ministers is not to edify and reform ; and in charity I think they ought not to answer to all these nice points, except they were very notorious offenders in papistry or heresy, I write with the testimony of a good conscience, &c. This kind of proceeding is too much favouring the Romish inquisition, and is rather a device to seek for offenders, than to reform any." And in another letter adds, " Seeking rather by excommunication, to urge them to accuse themselves, and then punish them."

The arch-bishop makes a large reply, in it faith thus :—" I have taken upon me the defence of the religion and rites of this church of England, to appease the sects of schisms, therein to reduce all the ministry thereof to uniformity and due obedience ; herein I intend to be constant, and not to waver with every wind, the which also my place, my person, my duty, the law, her majesty, and the goodness of the cause do require of me, and wherein your lordship and others, all things considered, ought in duty to assist and countenance me ; it is strange, that a man in my place, dealing with so good warranties as I do, should be so encountered, and for not yielding, should be accounted wilful, but I must be contented, *Vincit qui patitur*. — And if my friends herein forsake me, I trust God will not, neither the law, her majesty who hath laid the charge on me, and are able to protect me."

Many were the severe laws made against the Non-Conformists, which were put in execution with great cruelty, to the suspending, imprisoning, and executing many of the faithful servants of Christ in this queens reign, whereof Fuller in his ecclesiastical history gives a particular account. The high commission-court (that grand grievance) was set up also by her.

In the next place I shall give you some confirmation of the truth of the prevalency of popery under a protestant mask, in the rites and ceremonies imposed in these and succeeded times, by the witness born by several eminent dissenters, which we find on record in several books; viz. A book called the register; another the abridgement, which was delivered to king James by the ministers of Lincoln-diocess, Anno. 1605.

In the register page 3. We have the 24 articles agreed in the synod, and confirmed by the Queen, exhibited to Mr. Edward Deering and his answers thereto Anno. 1573, whereof receive his answer to the first article. The article was, "whether the book, entitled, the book of common-service, allowed by public authority in this realm, is to be allowed in the church of God, by God's word or no?" *to which he replied,*

First, "That the similitude, that this book hath with the form of prayer which the papists used I think, declineth from the equity of those laws, Deut. 7, 25. 12, 30. 18, 4. Which things our fathers so much regarded in the primitive church, that their books are full of great complaints against all similitude to be had with the Gentiles; yea, the second council of Bracca made a decree, that no christian should have either bay-leaves or green

bought in their houses, because the Gentiles so accustomed: and at this day all the reformed churches in France, Polonia, Helvetia, Scotland and other places, have changed that form of prayers, which prudence of all ages, if we shall condemn, the rebuke of the apostles, I think will teach us; 1, Cor. 14, 36. *Came the word of God out from you, or came it unto you only.*

Secondly, "We have the psalms, *Venite, Benedicite, magnificat, nunc dimittis*, usual in our ministry, of which we can give no good reason; nor I see no cause, why we should more leave out *Ave Maria*, than for parting the scriptures again into the epistles and gospels, which was not heard of before the days of popery, I dare not avow, that this is that reverend handling of the scriptures, and the right dividing the word of truth, which St. Paul requires, 2 *Tim.* 2, 15.

Thirdly, "The great inconveniency which has followed this book, while it has maintained an unlearned ministry, and made it thought sufficient to have the service read; wherein we have made the spirit of God to speak in vain; 1 *Tim.* 3, 12; which requires the ministers of the gospel to be apt to teach, to exhort and reprove; *Tit.* 1, 9. This is another cause, why I cannot subscribe unto the book, that it hath not all things answerable to the word of God."

But the abridgement is much more full, bringing arguments from the scripture, the Fathers, the old *Reformers*, and our old protestant doctors against it; whereof I shall give this following account.

First, "It is contrary to the word of God to use such ceremonies in the worship of God as man has devised; if they be notoriously known to have

been of old, and still to be abused unto idolatry and superstition by the papists; especially if the same be of no necessary use in the church; where note, that the ceremonial part of the English service, that is like to that of the Romish, is what has been abused by the papists to idolatry or superstition; but yet are not so necessary to divine worship, but that the worship may be complete, devout and orderly without them: which appears, say they.

1st. "By the second commandment, which forbids all provocation to spiritual fornication, as the seventh does to that which is carnal.

2^{dly}, "By the commandment and direction God has given us in his word, to separate ourselves from idolaters, and be as unlike to them, as may be, especially in their religious observations, and ceremonies, to abolish not only all idols; and that so, as we may best shew our utmost detestation to them, and root out the very memory of them.

3^{dly}, "By the equity and reasons of these commandments, which we find set down in holy-scripture," viz.

(1.) "The detestation which the Lord our God (being a jealous God) beareth to idolatry, and all the instruments and tokens thereof, as to spiritual whoredom.

(2.) "That it cannot be said sincerely, we have repented of the idolatry of our fore-fathers, unless we be ashamed of, and cast away with detestation, all the instruments and monuments of it.

(3.) "That we should be in danger to be corrupted in the substance of religion and purity of doctrine, and even to fall back again to idolatry, if we conform ourselves to idolatrous cere-

monies; yea, if we shew not all detestation to them.

(4.) "That our conformity with idolaters in their ceremonies, wherein they repose the greatest part of their religion, will be a special means to harden them in superstition.

(5.) "That seeing the pope is revealed to be that great anti-christ, and his idolatry troubles the church at this day more than any other, and our people converse more with papists, than with any other idolaters; there is more danger in the retaining of the ceremonies and relicks of popery, than of any other idolatry whatsoever."

Secondly, By the judgment of the godly learned of all churches and ages, who have constantly taught and given testimony of this truth, that christians are bound to cast off the ceremonies and religious customs of Pagans, Jews, Idolaters and Hereticks, and carefully to shun all conformity with them therein.

In the council of Nice it was decreed, that christians might not keep the feast of Easter at that time, nor in that manner the Jews did: let us say they, in nothing agree with that most detestable rout the Jews.

And in another council that none should fast on the Lords day, because the Manichees had taken up that day to fast in: that such altars as were set up in the country and high-ways, in memory of the Martyrs, should be abolished; and that solemn requests shall be made to the Emperor, that all reliques and monuments of idolatry might be utterly destroyed. And this decree we find cited by Dr. Fulk.

In another council, that christians should not celebrate feasts on the birth-days of Martyrs, because that was the manner of the Heathens. Tertullian is large and vehement in this point.

“As (saith he) we may give nothing to the service of an idol, so may you borrow nothing from the service of an idol; if it be against religion to sit at a table in any idol's temple; what is it to be seen in the habit of an idol? Thou, that art a christian, must hate those things, the authors and inventors whereof, thou canst not chuse but hate.”

Austin himself saith, “if you would win Pagans, leave all their solemnities, forsake their toys.”

The judgment of the Church of Scotland, in their letter to the bishops of England, 1556, from a general assembly at Edinburgh, thus writ: “if surplice, corner-cap and tippit, have been badges of idolaters, in the very act of idolatry, what have the preachers of christian liberty, and the open rebukers of superstition to do with the dress of the Romish beast. And in the confession of their faith sworn to by them, and the kings majesty also, we find these words; and detest all the ceremonies and false doctrines of the Roman antichrist, added to the ministration of the true sacraments, we detest all his vain rites, signs and traditions, brought into the church without the word of God. Mr. Rogers, that holy martyr, would not consent to a canon that was to be made in king Edward's-days, for the clergy's conformity in cap, tippit, and the rest of the apparel, unless it might be decreed, that the papists, for a difference between them and others, might be constrained to wear upon their sleeves, a *challice* with an *host* upon it.

Bishop Pilkington disliked, that in our liturgy we are so like the papists in marriage, and other things: This, saith he, is our fault generally that we differ not from them in all our ministry.

Bishop Bilson defending the reformed churches against a slander of the papists, approvingly reports thus of them, the reformed churches, saith he, "are so far from admitting the full dose of your heresies, that by no means they can digest one dram of your ceremonies."

Dr. Humphry saith, "that we ought to refuse to conform ourselves to the enemies of God in any of their ceremonies:" professing plainly his desire, and hope of the utter abolishing of the ceremonies of all the monuments of popish superstition, that yet remain in our church.

Dr. Fulk saith, "that if a man mistake our form of service, as not differing sufficiently from yours, he sheweth his greatest zeal in detestation of your Idolatry and blasphemy." And again, "we abhor," saith he, "whatsoever hath but a shew of popery."

Dr. Sutcliff makes this one of his principal arguments against the papists, "that they have derived most of their ceremonies from the Jews and Pagans." To the same purpose Mr. Greenham and Mr. Marbury.

That agreeing with us, most of the reformed divines do hold,

1. That those laws that we have alledged out of the old Testament, against the monument of idolatry, to bind us as much as they did the Jews; and from them they conclude as we have done, that all the relics of popish and heathenish superstition are to be banished out of the church of

Christ: Of this judgment are Calvin, Martyr, Grineus, Wolphius, Urfinus, Machebeus, Zachius, Simetrus, Zepperus, our own book of Homilies, Dr. Fulk and others.

2. That Hezekiah, Josiah and the rest of the Godly kings of Judah, who shewed most zeal in abolishing those things which had been abused by idolatry, did no more than they were bound by the law of God to do; and that from their example, the argument holds strong against the monuments of idolatry now, because all christians are bound to imitate their zeal therein: Of this judgment was Augustine, Calvin, Martyr, Wolphius, Levator, Zanchius, bishop Jewell, Bilson, Dr. Fulk, Dr. Raynold, Dr. Andrews, Mr. Perkins and others.

3. That the retaining of popish ceremonies, will certainly be a means to endanger the doctrine that we profess, and to bring the people back to popery: This was the judgment of the people of Saxony, and them of Hamborough, and of Luther.

4. That the retaining of the ceremonies of idolaters will cause them to insult over our religion, as if it could not stand without help from them, and to harden them in their liking of their own idolatry: This reason has been used against conformity with the Jews, by Constantine the Emperor, and by all the fathers in the first council of Nice, and against conformity with the papists, Begentiis, Musoulus, bishop Jewell and others.

5. We are confirmed in this our persuasion, that it is unlawful to retain the ceremonies of the papists, by experience of the great hurt they have done, and daily do in the church; for we find that some of the learnedest of the English papists, namely Martial Bristow, and he that penned the petition

for the papists, which Dr. Stutcliff, and Mr. Powell have answered, have by this argument justified their church and religion, that we have borrowed our ceremonies from them ; yea, some of them, as Harding, Martial, and he that writ the astrological epistle for our English papists have professed, that this was to them an evident argument that queen Elizabeth did in her conscience like well of their religion, because she liked and maintained their ceremonies ; and the superstitious multitude do usually defend the blessing of themselves, with crossing their breasts and foreheads, by our crossing our children in baptism. So far the abridgement. And to which we may add this farther testimony following viz.

Altas Damas. p. 612, 613, tells us, " That from three Romish channels was the English service raked together ; namely, 1st. The breviary, out of which the common prayers are taken, 2dly, the ritual, or book of rites, out of which the administration of sacraments, burial, matrimony, visitation of the sick are taken, 3dly The mass-book, out of which the consecration of the Lords supper, collects, gospels, and epistles are taken."

Bishop Hall in his *Quo vadis* saith, " That his eyes and ears can witness, with what applause the catholics entertained the new translated liturgy of our church."

Mr. Thomas Gage, in his *English American*, chap. 22. p. 205, thus expresseth himself: " I continued twelve months at my uncle's-house at Gatton searching (tho' unknown to my uncle and kindred) into the doctrine and truth of the gospel professed in England, for which cause I made many journies to London, and then privately, I resorted

to some churches, and especially to Paul's church to see the service performed, and to hear the word of God preached; but so that I might not be seen, known or discovered by any papist. When in Paul's church, I heard the organs, and the music, the prayers and the collects, and saw the ceremonies at the altar, I remembered Rome again, and perceived little difference betwixt the two churches. I searched further into the common prayer, and carried with me a bible into the country, on purpose to compare the prayers, epistles and gospels with a mass book, which there I had at command, and I found no difference, but only English and Latin; which made me wonder, and to acknowledge that much remained still of Rome in the church of England; and that I feared my calling was not right."

And p. 209. tells us, "That upon his return afterwards to Rome, that Father Fitz Herbert told him, that the common prayer book (which was composed for Scotland) was by arch-bishop Laud sent to Rome, to be first viewed and approved by the pope and cardinals, and who upon the perusal did approve thereof, and liked it very well, for protestants to be trained in such a form of prayer and service, &c."

Great *Cerus Panegyry*, *Missa*, Cap. 11, 12, alledgeth against the reformed churches, the English service-book for their popish holy-days, the book of canons for the sign of the cross, and kneeling at the altar, and for the whole hierarchy, &c.

Cornelius Scultingius, in his *herarchica anicrisis*, citeth whole leaves out of Whitgift for the defence of their hierarchy.

Stapleton's reflect. against Whitaker, Con. 2, Q. 3, Art. 3, uses Whitgift's argument to uphold their discipline, and professed they are built upon one foundation.

They further say, as *Paep Sapp. Anno. 1604. Reas. of Relig. 13.* "That from their treasure house, the religion now established in England hath learned the form of christening, marrying, churching of Women, visiting the sick, burying the dead, &c. as their book (say they) translated out of ours declares."

Curtaine, of Ch. power, p. 40. says, "That he heard one of the Jesuits say, that it was his hopes that our service and ceremonies would return us again to Rome."

Another objection is this, That whilst they separate for indifferent, and about disputable things, they do violate a known, plain, positive Scripture, which enjoins the inferiors to be obedient and subject to their superiors.

The protestant reconciler, Part II. urges it as an objection brought against the dissenters, compared with part I. p. 198. "That seeing God hath enjoined all persons to obey those that have the rule over them, Heb. 13. 17. And submit themselves, and to be subject to the higher powers, as to the ordinance of God, and that for conscience-sake; He that can satisfy his conscience in his refusal so to do, must shew some law of God, as evidently forbidding his obedience to what superiors do enjoin, as do these scriptures command OBEEDIENCE to them in ALL LAWFUL THINGS."

And you tell us in your *Scrupulous Conscience*, p. 33. "That these things of a public nature belong only to our superiors and Governors; and if

they appoint what is unfit, indecent and inconvenient they only are accountable for it: It is not the fault of those that join in such worship, or yield to such injunctions (NOT PLAINLY SINFUL) for the sake of peace and order." And the late most terrible Thunder-Clap from the berch, giving the dissenters in charge to the Grand-Jury, as such despisers of authority, who had sinned the unpardonable Sin, not to be forgiven them.

To which we say, that it is most certain, that obedience is due from inferiors to superiors, for conscience-sake, and for the Lord's-sake: But then that is limited to be only in the Lord; for if they who are his Ministers, command any thing not agreeable to his word, and plainly sinful, tho' they may call them indifferent things, state-policy, order and decency, we are justified with the Midwives, in disobeying the King's command, Exod. 1. 17. and Saul's guard, in refusing obedience to the king, 1 Sam. 22. 17. and Daniel and the three children, in disobeying the king, Dan. 3. 6. and with Peter and John, who refused to forbear preaching Christ at the ruler's command, telling them, it was better to obey God than man. Tho' this absolute obedience to superiors (as you'll find) is an argument principally urged by men, who have the magistrate on their side, and their own profit and advantage concerned, then obedience to them is cried up to be better than sacrifice, and fall foul upon the consciencious, as disobedient, seditious and rebellious. So Celsus the heathen reproaches the christians, for their forsaking their public assemblies, getting into corners, and disobeying authority. So all the time of popery were the Waldenses, Wicklivists, Lollards, and protestants, branded

with seditions, disobedience to authority, impugning the king's and queen's proceedings. And how doth Bonner lay the 13th of the Romans to the martyrs, to require their obedience and subjection to all their mumfimus's and sumfimus's? But if the tide be turned and the magistrate on the other side? then the same men cry out against imposition and persecution, as it was with the Arians and Orthodox, under the several emperors of different minds: The 13th of the Romans was in those days used as the dutch-man's breeches, to serve all occasions, and always improved to establish, and enforce the present impositions by the power and religion, which was uppermost. This reproves all our worthy witnesses, the Waldenses, Wicklivists, Lollards, &c. who bore up for Christ against all their sanguinary laws, prohibitions & commands, & those who opposed Jeroboam's calf-worship. This would establish the religion of the present power, be it either Judaism, Turcism, Popery, &c. and a conformity to it. But it is said you, intend this subjection to superiors, only in lawful things, things not plainly sinful. Then if the inferior be to judge what is unlawful, and plainly sinful, the controversy is at an end. If they command lawful things, they command no other than God has commanded, which makes it lawful; then obedience (as due) is given to God. If they command in the things of God any other than lawful, or what he has required, they have no authority so to do; and we sin not in disobedience, by your own rule, if they command sinful, or unlawful things.

As to those things of an indifferent nature, or things not positively forbidden, under which is included all the rites and ceremonies enjoined by man,

whereof no word of God for. We know of no such things ; all the rites, services and ceremonies to be observed, and enjoined in God's worship, being necessary things, and no negative articles of faith, as before.

Objection. But is it not manifest, that the persons, who presume to separate from the religion established by law, are usually of turbulent, seditious, factional spirits ? Otherwise what means those sensible impressions that have lately been made upon authority, expressed by the public declaration, manifold addresses, and pulpit alarms, reflecting upon them as to the PLOT, and the severity used, by putting the penal laws in execution, against this sort of people, in city and country ?

Answer. It is very true, that press and pulpit, late declaration, weekly addresses and severe usage both in city and country, speak this language. But it is not therefore true, that the dissenters are guilty of sedition, treason and rebellion, because the the truth and innocency of God's Church and people (as traduced to authority) have been so falsely and maliciously branded and handled all along, which may be some relief to them under their present trials and sufferings ; suggestions, calumnies and outcries, being no proofs.

Did not the church of old pathetically complain of the very same usage ? "The mouth of the wicked and deceitful are opened against me, they have spoken against me, with a lying tongue, they compassed me about with words of hatred, and fought against me without a cause," Psal. 109. 2, 3. So no new thing.

And again, "they that hate me without a cause, are more than the hairs of my head, they that would

destroy me, being my enemies wrongfully, are mighty ; for lo, they lye in wait for my soul ; the mighty are gathered against me, not for my transgressions, not for my sin, they run and prepare themselves without my fault," Psal. 69, 4. 59, 34.

And further, "mine enemies (saith the church) reproach me all the day ; and they that are mad against me are sworn against me." [It seems they wanted not perjured informers in those days.] Therefore prays, "let not them who are my enemies wrongfully rejoice over me ; neither let them wink with the eye, that hate me without a cause ; for they speak not peace, but devise deceitful matters against them that are quiet in the land."

Was not the slander wherewith the adversaries of the Church reproached them in Ezra's and Nehemiah's time, viz. (That for their peaceable attending upon the Lord, they were esteemed) a rebellious and factious people, and hurtful to kings moving sedition, Ez. 4. 15. Neh.

And was not this the accusation of wicked Haman against God's people, that because they dissented from the religion established by law ; having laws contrary to the king's laws, therefore as seditious and rebellious, they ought to be cut off, and not suffered to live, *Esb.* 3, 8. &c.

Were not the three eminent dissenters in Nebuchadnezzar's time so treated, for their *non-conformity* to the religion established by law, and as turbulent, stubborn, factious, disobedient and rebellious, cast into the fiery furnace? Dan. 3. And afterwards, Daniel upon the same score slung to the Lyons, though his God and his innocency pleaded his cause against his malicious trapapnning adversaries, [that could only in the matter of his God

get the advantage against him] "My God (saith he) hath sent his angels, and shut the Lions mouths: Forasmuch as before him innocency was found in me, also before thee, O king, have I done no hurt," *Dan. 3, 21, &c.* And what became of their malicious accusers afterwards, you there understand.

Neither did our Saviour himself, who was so meek, gentle, and innocent; so *Luk. 20, 21 &c.* harmless and inoffensive, meet with other measure, being directly so dealt with. Did not the trappanners assault him? For is it not said, "They watched him, and sent forth spies, which should feign themselves just men that they might take hold of his words; that they might deliver him unto the power and authority of the governor. And they asked him, saying, master, *we know that thou sayest and teachest rightly; neither acceptest thou the persons of any, but teachest the way of God truly. Is it lawful for us to give tribute to Cæsar or not?*" There was the catching question. And to which, though by his practice; working a miracle to pay tribute, *Mat. 17 27,* and his present answer, he stopped their mouths; yet would it not serve their turn, but stoutly do they accuse him of the very sedition and treason they designed to make him guilty of. And they began to accuse him, saying, *we found this fellow perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, saying, that he himself is Christ, a King, and they were not Cæsar's friends who said otherwise,* *Luk. 23, 2, &c.* Upon which he was cast, condemned and put to death, and the inscription wrote over him (to justify his crucifixion) was, **THIS IS THE KING OF THE JEWS;** tho'

he was altogether innocent, *Having done no violence neither was guile found in his mouth*; but under all their mischief and spite, with meekness and patience committed himself to Him who judgeth righteously; giving us therein also an example, how we should behave ourselves under like circumstances.

And so they dealt with his followers afterwards—did they not draw Jason, and the brethren unto the rulers of the city? Crying, *Those that have turned the world upside down, are come hither also.—And these do all contrary to the decree of Cæsar, saying there is another king, one JESUS; and they troubled the rulers of the people, when they heard these things.* Acts 17. 6, 7.

And so they said many and grievous things against Paul, which they could not prove; viz.—*That he was a pestilent fellow, a mover of sedition throughout the world,* Acts 25. 7, and 24. 5. And what was it for, but the preaching and practising the precepts and doctrine of the gospel, to make men holy and happy?

And did they not so deal with the christians in the days after the apostles; as Justin Martyr's and Tertullians Apologies, and Origen's Defence against Celsus make manifest? How all manner of evil is charged against the dissenters in those days falsely? How vicious and seditious in their conventicles? What despisers of dignities? What enemies to Cæsar? And whatever public evil or calamity befell, it must be laid to the christians charge; and to the Lions they must go, right or wrong, for the same. If Nero has a mind to burn Rome, it is but laying it to the christians charge, and that is enough.

And was it not just so they dealt with our forefathers, the Waldenses, Wicklivists, Lollards, and the Protestants in the Marian days, as turbulent, factious, seditious, resisters of authority, &c?

And may we not truly say, as it was then, so it is now? And may not you yourselves, who carry it to your dissenting brethren, expect the same measure from that generation of men, if they should get an advantage again in this nation, as our Saviour tells you, *Mat. 7. 1, 2.* It is no new thing, you see, to have innocency and truth falsely and injuriously charged and treated as sedition and treason.

And may not the dissenting party, notwithstanding all the rage, noise and clamour, the many provocations by malicious prosecutions, invading of properties, privileges, &c. worrying informers and soldiers, fines, confiscations, imprisonments, yea, deaths, both in city and country these two and twenty years, challenge the worst of their enemies to come forth and produce any one thing wherein the dissenters (as dissenters) are justly to be charged with sedition, treason, or rebellion [in this nation] but that under all, they have behaved themselves meekly, patiently and submissively, as becomes their holy profession?

And as for this horrid slander of being all engaged in a late *Plot* (their principles leading thereto) it is like all the rest. If to have been under the highest provocations, and in the exercise of the greatest patience under them, renders them guilty, it may be something: Otherwise, if proofs be necessary to make people guilty, why have not the witnesses appeared? But this is but a pretence;

for have they not suffered long before any plot was talked of?

But as to this, it is said—Have not several been imprisoned, some fled, and others executed about the plot?

That several have been imprisoned, some fled, and some executed, who have been reputed *Non-Conformists*, is very true; and so have many more of the *Conformists*, I presume, four for one of the other: will it then be a fair way of arguing, because so many of the *Conformists*, are said to be in the plot, therefore all the *Conformists* of the nation are guilty, and ought to be severely handled? I remember it was thought a very unfair way of proceeding of old, because Col. Wagstaff transgressed in the west, that therefore my Lord of *Kingstone* must be punished in the north; nay, the whole party decimated for the same.

If some of the *Non-Conformists* are found tardy on good proof, let them suffer the penalty of the law; but let not the innocent be judged and punished with the guilty; much less let not the principle of *Nonconformity* be judged, because some have miscarried under that profession; for by that rule may not the purest state of the Church, both in the Old and New Testament, be censured and judged, who had their *Chora's*, *Judasses*, and *Diotrophes's* amongst them? His majesty in his speech to both houses, gives us a good rule hereupon, viz. *Let us look forward and not backward, and never think of what is past, except men put us in mind, by repeating faults we had forgot; and then let us remember no more than what concerns those very persons.*

But have they not appeared of late years, very

zealous and forward in elections of parliament then, and other public officers in city and country ?

It is true, they have so ; and so have the Conformists also, ten for one to their number, both in city and country ; but what transgression is that ? what law have they broke, in voting according to their consciences, by endeavouring to bring such into trust and authority, as they have judged most able and honest to serve their country, in a time when we are told by the king and four parliaments, of a *Popish Plot* to subvert the Government, and to ruin us in all our concerns ?

But this as to heresy, schism, treason, rebellion, and plotting (that are charged upon us) I do ingenuously and fully so far own and acknowledge in my own behalf, and in all others that I know of this despised reproached number, that " If to worship the God of our fathers in the way of his own appointment, believing all things which are written in the law and prophets be esteemed heresy, we are heretics ;" (as king Charles I. answered the popish Marquis as before.)

That if in Dr. Pierce's words to justify the schism and separation from Rome) " To
Prim. rule of have recourse to the scriptures,
Reformation. consulting those oracles, how
 things stood from the beginning,
 and only separating from them, we find separatists from the primitive church and truth ; we make a secession that we may not partake of the (English) Roman schism, and answering the Lord's express command, *come out from amongst them, be ye separate, &c.* 2. Cor. 6. Rev. 18, 4. be to be esteemed sedition, schism and separation, we are seditious, schismatics, and separatists.

If to own the sovereignty of Christ (*by whom all things were created and by whom all things consist, who to this end dyed, rose again, and revived, that he might be Lord both of quick and dead, to whom the father hath given all power, both in Heaven and Earth. king of kings, and Lord of Lords*) and powers and potentates as under him, in conscience to him, to whom you own every knee must bow; and the king is but next and immediately under him, supreme head and governor in all causes ecclesiastical and civil, it being also stamp'd on our Coin, *Christo Auspice Regno*. [Christ the kingdoms happy guide.] If the owning and asserting his sovereignty in chief be treason and rebellion, we own we are such traitors and rebels.

If in our places and stations, to endeavour the defence of the English government, laws, liberties and properties, and to keep out the pope's foreign usurped power, who has hitherto so tyrannized over prince and people, both as to their bodies and souls in these nations, and to which all who have taken the oath of allegiance are so solemnly engaged be to be esteemed plotting and plotters, we own ourselves guilty of that plot.

THE CONCLUSION.

THUS, Sir, you have at your friendly call and invitation, a fair and impartial examination of the merits of the cause, giving you the different sentiments of the guides on both sides, in the most material objections made by the one, and the candid answers of the other; and how far your own principles and practice in separating from superstitious, idolatrous and persecuting, bloody Rome, justifies,

in many things, their principles, as well as practice, in separation from you, walking in their steps. The substance whereof, for a conclusion, I shall briefly sum up, with some reflections thereon in the following queries. viz.

Query 1. If your answer to the papists calling*
 * *Costerus inst.* for your negative proof from
Cbrist, l. 2. c. 1. the scriptures, against their
Hæc Sacris Literis idolatrous, foppish and un-
non prohiberi atq ; written traditions be good a-
sine peccato fieri pos- gainst them, viz. That there
sit, quia ubi non est need no negative proof to dis-
Lex ibi nec Preva- prove them, because they are
ricatio. not contained in our ONLY
 RULE OF FAITH, THE

BIBLE, as p. 5. Then whether the same answer is not good from the dissenters, when you ask them the very same question (which carries in it the whole of the controversy, as Dr. Stillingfleet observes, p 4) viz.—
That there needs no negative proofs to disprove all the rites, services, and ceremonies in question, because none of them are contained in OUR ONLY RULE OF FAITH, where they say, they no more find national, provincial, diocesan churches (your government by) lord arch-bishops and bishops, deans, arch-deacons, parsons, vicars, curates, chancellors, officials, your consecration of churches and priests, your priest's garments, altars, liturgies, singing service, litanies, bowing, crossing, kneeling at the sacrament, holy days, fasts, feasts, vigils, than the popish holy water, salt, oil, spittle, baptizing of bells, exorcisms, conjurations, bowing to images and altars, and other such like fopperies.
 P. 6, 7, 8.

Query 2. If your own pens declare, that to enjoin unnecessary, or indifferent things, viz. Things not contained in the scripture, in God's worship and service, as necessary, ought to be reputed an adding to God's word, *a teaching for doctrine the commands of men*, superstition, will-worship, or worshipping God in vain, as p. 12, then how can you avoid the same charge brought against you by the dissenters, when you (as self judged and condemned) do the same things? For are not your rites and ceremonies confessed by you to be indifferent things. as p. 9, 10, imposed upon dissenters as absolutely necessary, to the excommunicating, or as much as lies in you, damning their souls, ruining their bodies, and estates, who conscientiously scruple and refuse them, as p. 11, 12, 13.

Query 3. If you declare the rites, services, and ceremonies in the liturgy are of primitive antiquity, and not of popish novelty, as p. 14, 15, and that you have left (or separated from the church of Rome, because they left primitive antiquity, and therefore the dissenters have no cause to boggle at, or scruple them as popish. But if it appear to be quite otherwise, as the examination of each particular seems to demonstrate, as p. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, &c. viz. That they are not of primitive antiquity, but of popish novelty, and all of them fetched from the institution of popes and popish councils and canons, and not from Jesus Christ, and his New-Testament canons. If so, then—*First*, Whether you do not betray much rashness and weakness (not to say with the protestant reconciler, one of your own) falsehood and hypocrisy? And, *2dly*, Whether you do not thereby justify the dissenters separation from you, as warrantable, because they sepa-

rate from you for being in the practice of popish superstition & unwritten tradition because they are expressly commanded by Christ, *to separate & come out from such unwarrantable practices*, 2 Cor. 6. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18; Rev. 18. 4. *Lest partaking of such sins, they share of the threatened judgments?* It being very dishonourable as well as dangerous to halt betwixt two. If God be God, he (but if Baal he) is to be served and followed.

To which purpose we find in that most remarkable letter of bishop Hall to Dr. Laud, afterwards arch-bishop of Canterbury, that which is very instructive upon this account, whereof therefore, I shall presume to give you this following part of it; viz. "Resolve (saith he) one way, and know at last what you do hold, and what you should cast off, either your wings or your teeth; and loathing this bait, like nature, be either a bird or beast: If you must begin, why not now? It is dangerous deferring that whose want is deadly, and whose opinion is doubtful. God cryeth out with *Yehu, who is on my side? Who?* Look at least out of your window to him, and with a resolute courage cast down this *Jezebel*, &c." Thus far the good-bishop. Which is a good caution against indifferency, and luke warmness in the service of Christ, agreeable to our Saviour, Rev. 3. to *Laodicea*, *I would thou wert either cold or hot, &c.*

Query 4. If yourselves have judged popish imposition and persecution for conscience, to be anti-christian, wolfish and beastly, wholly contrary to christianity; and the lamb-like nature of Christ; and that it is injustice and barbarous cruelty to afflict men for what they cannot help, and a plain rebellion against God, by wresting his scepter, and

usurping his empire over conscience, out of his hand, the principle itself being so much decry'd by so many of your great men, as well kings as parliaments ; as p. 51. 52.

Then whether you doing the same thing, viz. imposing on the consciences of your brethren, and persecuting them with so much cruelty, to the ruining, as much as lies in you, both their souls, bodies, liberties and estates, be not to be self-judged with a witness ? 2dly, Does it not greatly justify the former popish cruelties (and make way for new ones) over protestants, as well as contract their guilt, appearing thus in their spirit and practice, as Christ told the persecuting *Jews* in that day that they thereby filled up the measure of their fathers, &c. and brought the guilt of the former blood on themselves, even from the blood of righteous *Abel*, &c. 3dly. Is it not a wonderful contradiction to abet, succour and relieve the *French Presbyterian* dissenters, under their cruel persecution for their *Non-Conformity*, and yet at the same time to exercise all that cruelty, ruin and destruction to the English Presbyterian *Non-Conformists*, like the *Scribes and Pharisees*, who built the tombs of the prophets, and at the same time killed the prophets. And 4thly Whether you do not hereby raise a mighty cry of Christ's poor lambs (appointed by you to the slaughter) against you to their Lord and Master, and who may thereupon say to you, as to persecuting *Saul* of old, *Why do you persecute me ? it is hard for you to kick against the pricks.*

But it is possible you may say, " That the persecution is not from you, but barely the persecution of the laws we transgress, which if we break we must thank ourselves, and not complain of you."

So said Bonner of old to the Martyrs in Queen Mary's days, and so said the *Scribes* and *Pbarisees* of Christ, *they had a law, and by their law he ought to die.* But you know it is a maxim in the English law, 28 H. 8. *That if any law, usage or custom, be contrary to God's law, they are null and void in themselves.* And how much such laws so rigorously put in force against dissenters, are both against the law of God and nature, you have by your own pens decided, and do also know what the proper interpreters of the law have said of them, viz. that protestant dissenters are not intended by them, but the popish only ; as p. 47, 48, 49. 50.

And as for the severe penalties inflicted on dissenters as seditious and riotous for their assembling together to worship God, as though they thereby infringed the law, and violated the public peace ; and for which they have in these three last years suffered in their estates and trades, at least two millions (as supposed) contrary to the true intent and meaning of those statutes, if the maxim of the law be true, that the intention makes the legal trespass, both as to treason, felony, murder, and riot ; twenty three years experience evidencing their quiet and peaceable behaviour, and that they have been as far from sedition and riot (as the law defines) as any in the nation.

Lamberd our great English Lawyer, defining a riot, tells us, it is where three or more persons be disorderly assembled in armour, with an intent to commit with force and violence an unlawful act and that great numbers being assembled together make no riot, till such a riotous intent be known ; quoting these

Lamb. Eyre-narcha, p. 175. ch. 4.

following statutes, so defining it, 13 H. 4. c. 7. 2 H. 5. c. 8. 4 H. 7. c. 13. 2. Edw. 3. c. 3. 2 R. 2. c. 6.

But have you disowned and witnessed against the cruelties exercised, and done what you could to prevent them? or rather with *Edom* stood on the other side? *Obad. v. 11.* and helped forward your brethren's afflictions, and by your presses, pulpits and addresses, and cruel courts, furthered it all that lies in you.

Query 5. If you declare, that it is *no sinful separation* to separate from those who separate from the truth and true Church, but a duty to God and ourselves, to free us from *sin* and *suffering*, as *p. 71.* Then if you yourselves have made a *separation* from the truth and true Church, you not only reproach your own separation from Rome, but justify your brethren from you, as warrantable by your own principles; *Who art thou that judgest another, and doest the same things, &c.?*

Query 6. If by your own, as well as scripture rules, it is no sedition nor contempt to authority, not to obey the unlawful commands of magistrates in the things of God, as *p. 64, 65, 66.* Then whether your dissenting brethren are not most injuriously dealt with by you, for that great out-cry gone out against them from your pulpits and presses, for *sedition* and *rebellion*? when it is only in the matter of their God you have to accuse them, and for saying with the Apostle, *It is better to obey God than men*; there being in truth no more sedition and rebellion to be found either in their principles or practice, than your own.

Query 7. If all this be true, then whether it does not very much explain that usual saying, that

popery is rather to be chosen than presbytery ; and that it is better to be a papist than a presbyter ?

Thus Sir, you have something which the dissenters have to say for themselves, hoping it shall not be judged either unreasonable or unseasonable to present to you this their just defence, and give you thus the merits of the cause, not only from your call so to do (and a silence thereupon might either bespeak consenting guilt, or prevent a satisfying reply to our conscientious scruples) but also the many severe pressures and sufferings we lye under from you for our *Non-Conformity*, which may plead some excuse for this modest plea ; Loosers being admitted the liberty of speech as sick men to groan, and the afflicted to cry ; therefore may we not hope for a fair admission of our plaint for present, as better usage for the future, since we have not to do with savage Indians nor brutish Irish,* *Massacreing cut-Throats*, worse than *Canibals*, (to whom all reason, right and truth is in-accessible) but with our own coutry-men, neighbours, fellow-citizens, acquaintance, gentlemen, scholars, with men professing the same protestant religion with ourselves, and with so many who have offered reasons and arguments to us, and may therefore hope, they'll receive it from us (how else can they answer our scruples) and not stop our mouths with *Goals, Pillories, Halters* (say what they please to render us and our principles obnoxious, and refuse and reject our just defence, it being below common ingenuity to challenge an adversary to the field, and

* *De Laune himself was an Irishman, we think he must therefore in this refer to the Irish Catholics who massacred the Protestants.* Ball. Edit.

when he appears, cause him to be disarmed, gagged, and bound, and then manfully cudgel him, and boast of a conquest, far be it from us so to think) and particularly since you yourselves lie under the same censure of *schism*, *heresy*, and *sedition* from the *popish party*, as we from you, and have given the same arguments to justify your separation from them, as we from you; so that there wants nothing but demonstration, *candour* and *charity* to set all honest protestants to rights.

But, especially living under a Prince, who has expressed so much tender regard, and so many promises to tender *Consciences*, who live peaceably, and who is of that sagacity and prudence, to judge, whether it will be more for his interest and profit to root up and destroy such an innocent, peaceable and profitable people, and suffer their substance to be taken from them (as some wicked *Hamans* may suggest and provoke) or with the *Eastern* monarchs (in like case) to let such cruel harpies and bloody incendiaries, against the innocent *Non-Conformists* of this day, feel his just rebukes, as *Esth.* 7. 10. 8. 11, &c. *Dan.* 3. 29. 6. 24. And as to enrich the treasury, whether it is not like to be more effectual and just, to do it with popish emoluments yet remaining in the nation, and to take up where H. 8. left, and make thorough work of it.

Lastly, To conclude, be pleased in your own Words to be exhorted, *That laying aside all prejudices, favour to, or admiration of men's persons evil affection, love of a party, or carnal interest to bias your judgment, you would impartially weigh and consider, the arguments herein proposed being diffident of your own apprehension, and indifferent to either part of the question; and think it*

no shame to change your mind, when better reason is offered you ; for the dissenters desire none to be their proselites any further than they give scripture and reason for it ; resting very confident, that if they could prevail with people equally to hear both sides, and diligently to examine the merits of the cause, their churches would every day gain more ground amongst all wise men ; so saith also,

Your Friend and Servant

THOMAS DE LAUNE

15 OC 61

E I K O O N

Tou Therou : Or, the

I M A G E OF THE B E A S T.

SHEWING, BY A PARRELLEL SCHEME,

What a Conformist the Church of Rome is to the
Pagan :

AND

What a Non-Conformist to the Christian Church,
in its Rites, Services, and Ceremonies, the
better to exemplify the true
and false Church.

BY THOMAS DE LAUNE.

Obad. 6. *How are the hidden things of Esau sought out ?*

Dan. 3. 17, 18. *Our God whom we serve, is able to deliver us, and he will deliver us : But if not, be it known, that we will not serve your Gods, nor worship the golden image that ye have set up.*

Rev. 14, 9. *And the Angel said with a loud voice, if any man worship the Beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink of the Wine of the Wrath of God, which shall be poured out without mixture, in the cup of his indignation.*

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1800.



To The READER.

READER,

YOU have here a brief, and I hope, satisfactory account (from many learned authorities) of the rise and original of many of the rites and ceremonies now in question (which have, and do occasion so much trouble and distress) the only right way to end disputes, and which was the method Christ took with the pharisees, Mat. 19. 8. and which Dr. Pierce so wisely observes from him in confuting the papists: Whereby it is easily discerned what is from above, and what from beneath; what from God and what from Man. This proves their rise and birth to be many hundred years before Christ, therefore not from him for christian service.

The learned Causabon in his original of idolatry (writ in French) and collected (as his epistle tells us) from Elafopolitan's Commentaries (translated by Mr. Darcy) says, p. 73.

That the main and principal parts of the mass are digested and brought in by *Numa Pompilius* [the second King of the Romans, a great magician, about 700 years before Christ, p. 37.] The further additions were invented by other Roman pontiffs, and especially by a Monk, called Gregory, the first of that name who attained the papacy, being instructed in pythagorical magick and philosophy, having also studied the laws of King Tullus Hostilius, successor to Numa, and to the end he might perpetuate his name, instituted divers additions to the mass, &c.

You have therefore (for your better information) this parallel-scheme here presented to you of the pagan and papal rites and ceremonies, where you find the great harmony and agreement that is between them therein (the child being not more like the father, than Rome papal is to Rome pagan in its ecclesiastical rites and services) and therefore is it not significantly by the Holy Ghost stiled, The image of the beast, Rev. 13, 14, 15, &c. And did it not prove the healing the deadly wound given to the Dragonical beast? Ver. 4. And who you will find not to be in greater non conformity to the pagan, than to the christian church, of which you have a brief prospect from the scripture, the true standard to try and judge all images and idols by.

“ But you will say, why do you give the heathen the denomination of a church? Is that proper? Yes, why not? Do you not read of the church of evil-doers? *Psal. 26.* And synagogue of Satan, Rev. 2. And I know no reason why Rome pagan the mother, may not be so called, as well as Rome papal, the daughter, who fetches so much of her ecclesiastical policy, church-rites, services and ceremonies from her. But did not pagan Rome kill Christ, and disown christianity, which papal Rome did not? It is true, Rome pagan did murder Christ in his person, and so doth Rome papal in his members, which is killing him afresh; and though in words they seem with Judas to say, *Hail Master*, and kiss him, with a *Jesus, Jesus*, yet in their words they deny, betray, sell and crucify him; and by blasphemous traditions and impious superstitions, make void his whole law, usurp his throne and authority, sit in the temple of God as God, changing times, laws, and ordinances.”

As to the authorities to justify each particular which you might have expected under each head I must refer you to a larger piece treating thereof, which doth it very distinctly, this being but the epitome of it, though in general, you may understand the following authors have been consulted hereupon, viz. Plutarch in Numa, Tacitus, Titus, Livius, Decad, Puny, Alex ab Alexand. Blund de Rom. Triump. Durandus, Darcy's translation of Caufabon, Dr. Moore's mystery of iniquity, and that late worthy and most excellent piece, called Pagana Papismus, &c.

Tbine in the service of truth.

T. D.

E I K O O N

Tou Therou: Or the

IMAGE OF THE BEAST.

&c.

The Dragonical, or Pagan Church consisteth in, viz.

The beastly papal Church is conformable to the pagan, in,

The Christian church consisteth in, viz.

I. ITS HEAD.

THE Emperor of Rome presiding by the policy of Hell, over all ecclesiastical affairs, as well as civil, was called *Pontifex maximus* or high priest; to whom was given divine honour, and prostration at his feet: And as head of the Church, or high priest, had first-fruits, an-

I. ITS HEAD.

THE Pope of Rome presiding by the policy of Hell, over all ecclesiastical affairs, claiming the civil, is also called *Pontifex maximus*, or high priest; to whom divine honour is given, and prostration at his feet: and as head of the church and high priest, has first-fruits, annates and obla-

I. ITS HEAD.

NEITHER Emperor pope nor king, but Christ himself, to whom the father has committed it, having purchased it also with his own blood, who a high priest and king, is the alone author, and institutor of its order, rule and worship, with all things that belong thereto and necessary to

nates, oblations
&c. paid him,
and also a pur-
purate, synod,
or princes in
purple to assist
him.

tions, &c. paid
him, and a pur-
purate synod,
viz. cardinals
in purple to as-
sist him.

be observed
therein ; to
whom divine
honour is duly
paid ; GOD
blessed forever,
the government
on his shoulders
without any
catholic vicar
to assist.

2. *Its members.*

The mem-
bers and parts
of the church
were the parts
of the empire,
as divided into
ten parts, horns
or kingdoms ;
and those ten
kingdoms dis-
tributed into
nations, prov-
inces, diocesses
and cures, un-
der respective
governors civil
military, and
ecclesiastical.

2. *Its members.*

The mem-
bers and parts
of this catholic
church, are the
parts of the em-
pire as divided
into ten horns
or ten kingd-
oms ; and those
ten kingdoms
distributed
into nations,
provinces, dio-
cesses, and pa-
rishes, for the
better adminis-
tration of pa-
pal jurisdiction.

2. *Its members.*

The mem-
bers of the
christian church
are not any em-
pire, region, ci-
ty, diocese, or
province, but
only such of the
faithful, or be-
lievers in all
parts of the
world, who are
called to visible
saintship, and
orderly put to-
gether into dis-
tinct congrega-
tions, as Christ
has directed in
the New-Tes-
tament.

3. *The Gods worshipped.*

Besides their supreme God Jupiter or Jove whose name they derived from Jehovah, the governor of Heaven and Earth, they had divers inferior Deities, Gods, & Goddesses, whom they divinely worshiped; viz. *Diva vosto* (Juno or Luna) the queen of Heaven (and mother of God) with Saturn, Mars, Venus, Mercury Phœbus, Bacchus, Vulcan, to whom they, as their numens, heroes or intercessors built temples, erected altars and statues; dedicated feasts, &

3. *The Gods worshipped.*

Besides their supreme God Jehovah, the governor of Heaven and earth they pretend to worship they have divers inferior Deities, Gods and Goddesses, whom they divinely worship; viz. *Diva* or *Sancta Maria*, the queen of Heaven (and mother of God with *Divus Petrus* St. Paul St. John, St. Thomas, St. Stephen, St. Andrew &c. to whom they as their numens or intercessors, build temples, erect altars, dedicate feasts, paying also so much reverence to the pa-

3. *In worshipping the true God, only and truly.*

Though there be that are called Gods whether in Heaven or in Earth (as there be Gods many, & Lords many) but to us there is but one God, the father of whom are all things, and we in him, and one Lord Jesus, by whom are all things, and we by him, 1. Cor. 5, 6. *Make no mention of the names of other Gods, neither let it be heard out of thy mouth*, Ex. 23, 13. *Thou shalt have no other Gods besides me, thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image,*

called the days by their names, they had Dæmons, Ætherial, and Tutular, Gods and Goddeses, to be applyed to by several vocations, countries cities families, orders, sick persons; as Divus Neptunus for marriners; Divus pan for shepherds; Diva Pales for husband men; Diva Flora for the courtesan; Diva Diana for the hunts-men; Divius Æsculapius for the physician; Divius Bacchus for the good fellow; Divus Mercurius for trades men; they had Gods for every family country, city disease as *cant.*

gan Gods as to keep up their names in the days of the week, viz. Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday; they have also Tutular and Ætherial Gods & Goddeses, to be applyed to by several vocations, countries, cities, families, orders sick persons; as Divus or St. Nicholas for the marriner, St. Windoline for the shepherd; St. John Baptist for the Husbandmen; St. Magdalene for the curtesan; St. Hubart for the hunts-men St. Christian for the shoemaker &c.

or any likeness of any thing that is in Heaven above or Earth beneath, thou shalt not bow down thy self to them, nor serve them: for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God; Exo. 20. 4, 5. What agreement hath the temple of God with idols? For ye are the temple of the living GOD. Wherefore come out from amongst them, & be ye separate saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, &c. The things which the gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to Devils and not to God; and I would not that you should have fellowship

ficat era, &c. Besides in the *Pontifex Maximus* and *Synod* was placed the right of Apotheosis, or god-making; viz. To create and enroll some deceased worthy in the number of the gods, to whom temples, altars, orders, & statutes were appointed and festivals in their names celebrated.

The city, country, family, & physick gods, are innumerable.— St. George for England, St. Denis for France, St. Mark for Venice, &c. gods almost for every disease; besides the god-making power, that is in the pope and cardinals to canonize what deceased worthy they please, & to appoint them temples altars, orders festivals:

with Devils; 1 Cor. 10. 20. Rev. 18. 4. 2 Cor. 6. 16.

4. *The places of worship.*

Temples, or Fanes, both rich and magnificent they built in the names and dedicated to the honor of their gods; as the temple of Jupiter, the ca-

4. *The places of worship.*

They enjoyed the temples of the heathen only new consecrated, and dedicated them to their own Gods to whom they gave new names

4. *In its worship respecting place.*

There having been no consecrated place or holy ground since the dissolution of the temple, by God's appointment to build temples,

pital of Rome, was dedicated to him, *Vesta* the queen of heaven and mother of God, had a temple, & nunnery dedicated to her, and so had all the rest of the Gods; *Saturn, Mars, Venus, Diana, Minerva, Neptune, Apollo, &c.* yea one to all the Gods, called *pantheon*. They build their temples east & west worshiping towards the east, by their *Auguri* and *Auruspices*, with many prayers, ceremonies and solemnities; they consecrated first the ground, & then the temple which was built upon it; altars were erected in them and sump-

at their *christenings*; as St. *Saviour's* for Jupiter, St. *Mary's* for *Vesta's* temple; & so for the rest of their gods; St. *Peter's* for *Apollo's* St. *Pauls* for the temple of *Diana*, (so it was at London) St. *Nicholas* for *Neptune's*, and *All-Saints* for *PANTHEON*.

They built new temples east and west, and worshiped as the Heathens did, towards the east; and do by their priests consecrate first the ground then the Temple which stands upon it; altars are erected in them, & sumptuously adorned and statues placed on them

or holy places of worship; the true worshipers who worship the father in spirit and truth, are truly his church & house wherever they meet, be it in the wood, field, house or barn; so saith the Apostle, *with all, who in every place call upon the Lord Jesus Christ, our Lord*, 1 Cor. 1. 2. *Whose house are ye.* Heb. 3. 8. *The Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands as saith the prophet; What House will ye build me? Or what is the place of my rest? who fill Heaven and earth.* Acts. 7. 48, 49. *No altars and candles*

tuously adorned and statues placed in them with lighted candles, which they worshiped. A feast of dedication was annually kept, to the honor of the dæmon the temple was dedicated to; which after their religious rites were over, was spent in revelling & jollity; and this, as God's House, they pay great reverence to.

5. *The times of worship.*

They divided their days into festi, feast-days, profesti, working-days, & *intercisi*, half holy days; the feast days they dedicated in the name and to the

with lighted candles, which they worship. A feast of dedication is annually kept, to the honor of the saint the temple is consecrated to, which is spent with revelling and jollity, and this, as God's house, they pay great reverence to.

5. *The times of worship.*

They divided their days into *feasts*, *fasts*, *vigils* and working days (as their kalender mentions) their feasts dedicated in the names & to the honor of

worshiping, east and west; or feasts of dedications in Christ's church, being all pagan or papal inventions,

5. *The times of worship.*

The first day of the week is the christian sabbath and the only standing time for rest & worship, to be observed holy unto the Lord; the other 6 days

honour of their gods were very many, some of their capital feasts were these viz. their *saturnalia* kept severall days together in December, with *Eulgames* Mrs. of *Misrule*, *Mascarading* & all debaucheries ; adorning their temples and houses with green leaves & boughs ; the *epiphany* (from the appearing of their God's) their *proserpinalia*, or feasts of candles in February their *palelia*, or shepherds feast on *Midsummer day*, their *Floralia*, on May-day, with great jolity by the young people of both sexes scattering

their saints (or Gods) are very many, some of their capital feasts are these, viz. Christmas (their *saturnalia*) observed directly both in time and manner as theirs was, with *Eulgames*, Mrs. of *Misrule*, *Mascarades*, debaucheries ; adorning their houses and temples with green leaves & boughs ; the *epiphany* feast as theirs ; also candlemas, the purification of the virgin Mary. In February, as their *proserpinalia*, or candle feast. Their St. *John Baptist* on midsummer-day as their *Palelia*, also *Philip* and *Jacob* on May.

being appointed for labour, as the 4th commandment orders, viz. *Remember to keep holy the seventh day, six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work.* The pope that changer of times, saith thou shalt labour but 3 or 4 days, the rest are his *holy days* ; no set-times either for feasts, fasts, or vigils, are appointed by Christ, which are only to be observed as occasion is administered. All their holy-days and festivals, celebrated in honour of the papal & pagan Gods, *numens*, or *Dæmons*, are an abomination

boughs & flowers, and dancing about may-poles, their *Ambervalia*, or procession when they begged a blessing on their Gods, upon their fields and fruits; the feast *Easter* to that Goddess in April. They had their *Bacchanalia*, their *Cerialia* their *Venalia* and their *Panathenea*, a feast to all their Gods. Canonical hours for sacrifice, and devotion, and a *Jubile*, or year of rest.

6. Their Priesthood.

They had superior Priests, viz. flamins and arch-flamins for sacerdotal services in their

day, kept as their *Floras* feast, time and manner. Also procession, or perambulation, in rogation week, time and manner with their *Ambervalia*; also the feast of *Easter*, time, name, and manner, they have their *Whitsonales*, for their *Bacchanalia*, their *Allsaints*, for their *Panathenea*, Canonical hours for service, and a year of *Jubile* for rest.

6. Their Priesthood.

Their priests were either superior, viz. bishops & arch-bishops, for sacerdotal service

to the Lord, & a great oppression to the nations.—God requiring but a 7th part of time for his public worship and service; and they exact half, if not 2 thirds of it for the worship & service of their Idols.

6. In its ministry.

In Christ's church there are only two sorts of offices and officers, (by his new testa-

provinces, and dioceses, and inferior priests, distinguished by dignified names, tonsures, orders, habits, the dignified priests, were those who attended on the capital temples, as the proper priests of Jupiter, Appollo, Minerva, Vesta, Diana, Venus, Cybel, some of which were called dialia, martalia, querinalia, augures sacri, fecialls.

And more inferior priests who had the care of the sacred celebrations, in the cures called curiones there were proper habits, for all the priesthood, and particular vestments, for

in provinces, and dioceses, or inferior, distinguished, by dignified names, tonsures, orders, habits, the dignified clergy were those who attended the capital, or cathedral churches as deans, chapters prebends arch-deacons, and the more inferior priests, who have care of sacred celebrations, in the curies or parishes, called cureats, parsons, vicars, deacons, answering their curiones, they have proper habits for the clergy, and particular vestments for their holy ministrations viz. surplices, or albes, cha-

ment appointment) viz elders, and deacons the elders, to administer ordinances, and govern the church.

And deacons, to make provision for, to visit, and take care of the poor, none of the ministry distinguished from the laity, by habits or tonsures, which are all pagan, and papal, inventions, and abominations. The prohibition of marriage being a doctrine of devils, elected and consecrated according to Christs canons by the particular congregation wherein they serve Christ and according

their divine service, viz. albes, tunicles amiets, they had tonsures, and shavings, so the priests of Isis, Diana, Jupiter divers orders of priests whereof most cælebate to whom marriage was prohibited as the priests of Vesta, Minerva, Appollo, and those of Cybil who were castrated, elected, & consecrated according to the ritual of Numa, and put into their cures by the pontifex, maintained; according to their ecclesiastical constitution, the pontiffs, by annates oblations, and the priests by benefices of-

fubles, or amicts to tunicles uales, or amicts, to which they add coaps, ephods, miniples, zones, &c. They have tonsurers, or shavings of their orders, and most whereof cælebiate, to whom marriage is forbidden, elected and consecrated, according to the popes canons, and put into their cures by his authority, maintained according to their Ecclesiastical customs, the popes by annates oblations &c. The priests by benefices. offerings oblations, obsequies, &c.

to Christ's law; and primitive practice, are maintained by the voluntary contribution of the flocks they feed, and rule, having no benefices or forced maintenance of tythes to live upon.

ferings obsequies, &c.

7. *Their rites and ceremonies.*

Their principal service comprehending most of their rites and ceremonies, was called the *mass*, whereof ten principal parts, viz. 1. The *Asperges* which was their sprinkling with holy water at the temple door, all that attended that service for *sanctification*.

2dly, The procession when the priest in his *Vest*, *shaven crown taper* in his hand carried about *shrines* with supplication, & *thanksgiving*, with music. 3 *Trimming altars*, with

7. *Their rites and ceremonies.*

There principal service comprehending most of their rites and ceremonies called the *mass* where we find, 1. The *asperges*, or sprinkling with holy water, at the temple door for sanctification, all that attend the service. 2ly, The procession wherein the priest in his vest, shaven crown taper in hand carries about the relicks or shrines with supplication & singing, with musick. 3dly adorning the altars with cloths lights, images. 4ly. The con-

7. *Their rites and ceremonies.*

No such things in christ's service, by his appointment, as liturgies, litanies, is church music, organs, flutes, vials, singing of prayers, anthems or collects, no burning incense, odours tapers candles upon altars, no cringes crossings, kneelings at altars bowing to the east, but praying in the spirit, and praising in the spirit, and receiving the Lords supper the bread and the wine according to his institution, without all their pagan

clothes, lights, and images, 4. The Confiteor, making confession and supplication to the Gods. 5thly, The *Uertegines viz. Antic postures, and gestures*, of the priest at the altar. 6ly, The church music, vocal, and instrumental putting up canticles psalms collects to their Gods with organs, flutes, vials, &c. 7thly, The thurall part offering, incense, odours and perfumes. 8thly, The offertory viz. oblations and offerings. 9thly, The round host, or small round loaves, given to the communicants. 10. The

feteor or confession. 5ly, the uertegines viz. Windings, turnings, & lifting up of the priests hands. 6ly, their church music, vocal and instrumental, their putting up songs, collects, anthems &c. with organs, flutes, vials, voices. 7ly offering incense with odours, and perfumes. 8ly, The offertory or offerings. 9ly, The wafer or round host given to the communicants. 10ly, the conclusion with ite missa est pronounced by the priest, they have curvations, flagillations, penances, lying wonders,

and papal inventions and superstitions.

conclusion with
its missaest pronounced by the priest they had many curvations, or bowings, fastings, flagilitions, or whippings lying wonders, by forcery and miraculous appearing of their Gods, *derget worshipping towards the east.*

derges, worshipping towards the east, they have also several additions, to the mass, as litany's epistles, gospels, canons, tracts kifs pix, crosses, kneelings, &c.

8 *Their imposition and persecution.*

They violently impose their service, and ceremonies not suffering the dissenting christians, to buy or sell persecuting them to confiscation and to blood.

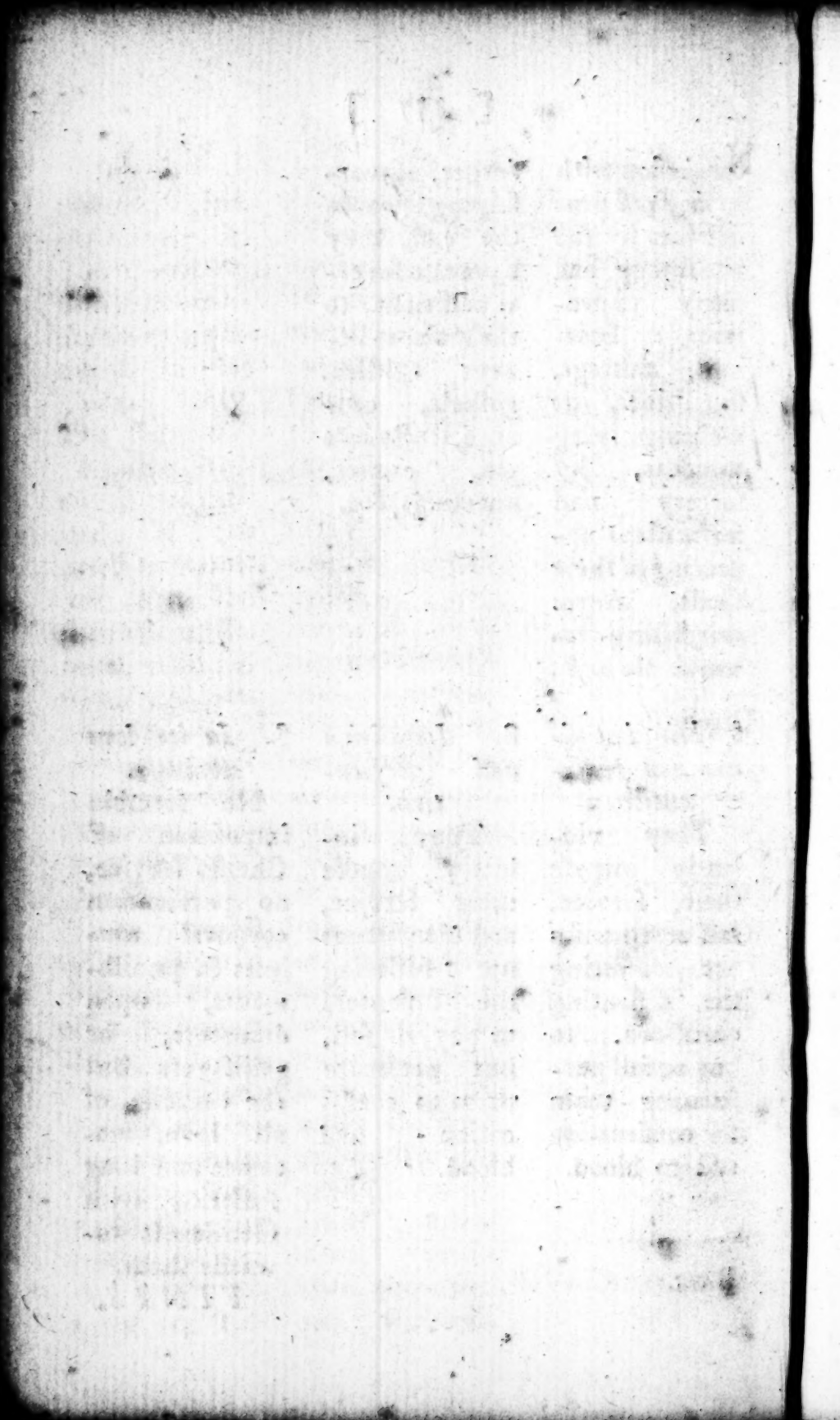
8. *Imposition and persecution.*

They violently impose their service, and ceremonies not suffering the dissenters to buy, or sell, but persecute them to confiscation and blood.

8. *In its love meekness.*

No forcible imposition of Christs service, no persecution corporal mulcts & punishments, upon dissenters, or gainsayers but the exercise of all love, patience and long suffering, with Gentleness towards them.

FINIS.



A
N A R R A T I V E
OF THE
S U F F E R I N G S
OF

THOMAS DE LAUNE,

FOR WRITING, PRINTING AND PUBLISHING A LATE
BOOK, CALLED, A PLEA FOR THE NON-
CONFORMISTS ; WITH SOME
MODEST REFLECTIONS
THEREON.

Directed to Dr. Calamy, in obedience to whose
CALL, that work was undertaken.

By THOMAS DE LAUNE.

Gal. 4. 16. *Am I therefore become your enemy, be-
cause I tell you the truth ?*

Eccl. 5. 8. *If thou seest the oppression of the poor,
and violent perverting of judgment and justice,
in a province, marvel not at the matter ; for he
that is higher than the highest regardeth,*

1. Pet. 3. 1. *If you suffer for righteousness sake,
happy are ye ; and be not afraid of their terrors,
neither be ye troubled.*

BALLSTON ;—Re-printed by W. CHILD. 1800.

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A
NARRATIVE
OF THE
S U F F E R I N G S
O F
THOMAS DE LAUNE,
&c.

S I R,

I AM concerned to acquaint you with my case, and because possibly, some affairs that are more considerable to you, may have diverted you from any inquiry, respecting a prisoner (whose compliance to you made him so) I will give you a brief account of the whole, and entreat you to give me some resolution to some certain things which I shall propose; which if fairly resolved, will, in my opinion, prove a considerable step to convince a great many *scrupulous consciences*, or else give a check to pulpit and press-challenges; and mollify the hearts of such as so ruinously and severely prosecute them, for such scruples as are invincible by any other medium than what you direct to, viz. OUR ONLY RULE OF FAITH, the BIBLE.

My case is briefly thus.

ON the twenty-ninth of *November* last, late in the evening, I was apprehended by one *Robert Stephens*, a messenger to the press, and by him carried before Sir *Thomas Jenner*, now recorder of

London, who asked me divers questions, the most material of which are mentioned in the following letter sent afterwards to him: By the same recorder I was sent to the Compter in Wood-street, where I had most wretched accommodation; I was turned in amongst the common-side prisoners, where a hard bench was my *bed*, and two bricks my *pillow*; and not suffered to see some of my acquaintance that were prisoners there, as *dissenters*.

Next morning Mr. *Stephens* got me called to the lodge, and to his praise be it spoken, narrowly searched me for papers, but found none for his purpose, and so left me to be turned in again; but a little while after I was sent by a fresh warrant to *Newgate*. The copy of which follows.

To the keeper of New-Gate, or his Deputy.

LONDON. *ss.* **Y**OU are hereby required to receive into your custody the body of *Thomas De Laune*, and him safely keep, until he shall be delivered by due course of Law; for that it appeared before me, by his own confession, that he is the *author* and *penman* of a certain pamphlet, entitled, *A Plea for the Non-Conformists*; and hath caused many hundred sheets thereof to be printed, wherein are contained several seditious and dangerous matters against the government, and for that he refused to find sureties to appear at the next sessions of the peace, to be held for the city of London at the *Old-Bailey*, and to be of good behaviour in the mean time, and for your so doing this shall be your warrant. Given under my hand and seal, this xxth day of *November*, *Anno Caroli Secundi nunc Angliæ, &c. 35. Annoq; Dom. 1683.*

Tho. Jenner, Recorder.

Exam. per. A. Nicolas.

By virtue of that warrant I was committed to *Newgate*, and lodged amongst *Felons*, whose horrid company made a perfect representation of that horrible place, which you describe when you mention *HELL*. But after two days and nights, without any refreshment, the unusualness of that society and place having impaired my health, the constitution of which at best, is very tender and crazy; but now I am in the press-yard, a place of some sobriety, though still a prison.

Some few days after I sent the following letter to sir *Thomas Jenner*, and on the eighth of December, by my wife another to you; the words of the former were these.

To Sir THOMAS JENNER, Kt.

Recorder of LONDON.

S I R,

" You know I was committed prisoner first to the compters in Wood-street, then to *Newgate*, by your warrant. In my *Mittimus* it is said, that I refused to give bail, which is a mistake; for being asked by you, whether I would give bail then? I said I could not, it being so late at night, when I had no opportunity to send to such as would bail me, and being asked whether I would give bail the next morning? I said I knew not whether I could or not; because I was not certain whether such, to whom I might have made application, would do it or not: This was no fullness or obstinacy in me, but what my real apprehensions then were. Some friends of mine, free-men of this city went afterwards to be my bail, but they were told you were not at home; they made thereupon an application to Sir *William Turner*, who referred them to you.

“ It is said in the warrant that I confessed I was the author of a libel, entitled, *A Plea for the Non-Conformists* ; wherein are contained things dangerous to the government, of which thus much and no further is true ; I confessed before you, that I delivered a manuscript of my own writing to one *John How*, with that title, in order to be printed ; and that if the print agree with the manuscript, I would own it, otherwise I could not ; because the misplacing of a stop, the mis-printing of a letter, or syllable or some other errata's of the press would alter the sense even to contradiction of what was intended to be discussed ; which was not as my indictment words it, (in a form of aggravating terms) but in order to a plain disquisition of such things, as Dr. CALAMY from pulpit and press invited dissenters to enquire into, as you may see in his book, called *a discourse of a scrupulous conscience*. There is nothing of matters relating to the civil state, in what I am charged with, for I am not concerned with that ; but if the guides of the church (as Dr. Calamy calls the beneficed men of the church of England) will make public challenges, they should receive objections without punishing the objectors, whose (supposed) crime is only for obeying them ; and that you know, sir, is disagreeable to justice.

“ If any thing I have done, falls within the lash of the English laws, *Fiat Justitia* : But I am satisfied, I have done nothing in this point unbecoming an honest subject, a scholar, a gentleman, and which is worth all, a christian. I commit the whole matter, with respect to this dispute, to that SUPREME LEGISLATOR, who is without exception

JUST ; and who will judge all that are subordinate to him, which is all from,

Sir, Your Servant,
Thomas De Laune.

To Dr. Benjamin Calamy, These.

S I R,

“ IN your printed sermon, entitled *Scrupulous Conscience* ; you know you gave a fair invitation to such as differ from you, to examine what each party (*viz. Conformists and Non-Conformists*) say for themselves, with respect to the rites and ceremonies, which the guides of the church impose on their members ; and by penal laws on their protestant fellow subjects, the *Non-Conformists* : without doubt your call to such, pre-supposed a reply by which you expected, that there may be either an opportunity given to you and your brethren, to rectify what *Scrupulous Consciences*, misunderstand ; or that there may be some relaxation procured of the severity they undergo, if their dissent appears to be warranted by that ONLY RULE OF FAITH, which Dr. *Stillingfleet* and other eminent conformists call the BIBLE.

“ If you did not expect an answer, or thought that none (for fear of the *acts of uniformity, &c.*) would make any return to your call ; what can a man of reason judge, but that it was a florid declamation or a triumphant harrangue, a mere mockery and ensnaring of poor *Scrupulous Consciences*, when they must be so muzzled, that they must not exhibit the causes of their doubts. Sir, you know, that it is unequal to gag the respondent when the opponents mouth is at liberty ; or

to manacle the assaulted, when the challenger flourishes a menacing sword.

“ Upon that public call of yours, I adventured to examine (with the most diligent search I could make) what each of the said parties say for themselves ; and this not out of any litigious principle (that *Pruritus Disputandi*) now too fatally grown epidemical ; but to give such as are concerned, occasion to investigate these disputed matters to the very foundation, to the clearing up of truth in a juncture when it can never be more seasonable. What was digested, was intended to be sent you in a manuscript, with some modest inferences and enquiries ; but on recollection, I judged it would more answer your ends, *viz.* public information, to have such arguments as are produceable by the dissenters, as public as the invitation you gave them from pulpit and press ; it being equal, that the answer should be as spreading as the objection.

“ I am far from the vanity of pretending to be your competitor in the faculties of the schools : I cannot judge of them any otherwise, than as unserviceable to christian religion, unless tinged with that grace, derivate only from the sanctifier of all gifts ; which I hope you partake of.

“ I am one of the meanest of the flock, yet not below the regard of the shepherd of souls, who is no respecter of persons, and whose example such as call themselves his ambassadors ought to follow. And therefore, tho’ some who pin their faith on canonical sleeves, may censure me, for opposing (or if I may use a military metaphor, taking up the gantlet against a man of your figure) yet I can take up my satisfaction in this, that it was not

pride, nor a popular itch, much less the love of a prison, influenced me to become an answerer of your *Scrupulous Consciences*.

“ I could heartily wish (as a mercy to these nations) that all religious differences were composed by evangelical rules, and that all who own the name of Christ, would serve him with one heart, and with one soul, and not tear each other to pieces, which by consequence, must expose them as a prey, to such as gape, for their destruction.

“ If the sanctions of Christ in the Old and New Testament, ought to regulate the modes of his worship, and that we are under an indispensable obligation to obey that *Magna Charta* of heaven, then let us either quit the name of christians, or act according to the supreme law-giver's unrepeatable statutes, quite exploding what is undeniably borrowed from the *Pompilian* or *Pontifical canons*.

“ Some sheets have been printed off, of what I intended to present to you, but the messenger of the press interrupted the procedure, and got me committed to *Newgate*, where I am now confined. There is nothing done, nor was intended to be done, but a fair examination of those things your sermon invited to, which I had thought (if esteemed criminal) should fall rather within the cognizance of divines, than the men of the law : for methinks the pandects should not be the oracles of religion ; and that temporal statutes should be so civil, as to give precedency to the sacred records.

“ It is possible, that enquirers into religion will look on it, as a preposterous proceeding, and disagreeable to the nature of the christian faith, to force doubting persons by *penalties* to embrace it ; for that can never make them good converts, but hyp-

ocrites. May they not say, that it is an horrid disparagement to the self-evidencing light of the gospel, if it cannot stop the mouths of the gainfayers, any other, than by the rigid execution of acts of state? I cannot find, that Christ or his disciples ever church-cursed or Newgated scrupulous consciences to conformity.

“ My confinement is for accepting your invitation to hear both sides, and I appeal to you, whether it be candid to punish me, for obeying a guide of the church? I look upon you (in honour) obliged to procure my sheets (yet unfinished) a public passport, and to me my liberty, else I must conclude it unfair; and that if the irresistible logic of goals grows *Ala-mode*. it will make the reformation some pretend to suspect to be very little meritorious of that name.

“ RELIGION is a sacred thing, and has been most horribly abused by such as have super-added their own inventions, or those traditional fopperies, received from our deceived and superstitious ancestors. I am satisfied, you as well as Dr. *Stillington* will own (or there is no debating with you) that the scripture is our only rule of faith; if so, pray let your *Scrupulous Consciences* be won to conformity by that: All men are not of equal capacity to apprehend things doubtful, for if they had been so, there had been no necessity of preachers; for the method of convincing men, is as plainly laid down in the Bible, as any thing there; viz. By plain demonstrative arguments, meek and winning persuasions, not the syllogisms of prisons pillories, &c.

“ I beseech you, in the fear of God, and as you will answer it to our great Lord and master, JESUS

CHRIST, that without respect to any other end than the good of souls (as the profession you take obliges you to) that you would treat *Scrupulous Consciences* as you would be dealt with all yourself: If they have no reason for their dissent, and will, without ground, suffer imprisonments, with all the ruinous concomitants of so dismal a circumstance, it is certain, that Bedlam is more fit for them, than such places of confinement as are appointed for men in their wits; and by consequence, it is a pity to be so severe with such simpletons. But if you would allow them any *Modicum* of reason, then I appeal to all the guides of the church, whether it be not more consonant to the precepts of our sovereign Legislator, to confute them by his rules, rather than by such coercive methods, which his majesty judged ineffectual in his declaration of indulgence, March 1672.

“As truth seeks no corners, nor suborners, and as real beauty will not be beholden to the artificial draubings of a pencil; so the christian religion (where professed in its naked simplicity) needs no other argument to beget profelites, than its own lovely and illustrious features, altogether plain, honest and every way amiable, void of all meretricious gaudery, or majestical pomp, which pleases only the external sense.

“I have no malignity against any person whatsoever, much less against your church, or any of its members; all I desire is that scrupulous consciences, who trouble not the peace of the nation, should be dealt withal (at least) as weak brethren, according to *Rom. 14, 1*, and not ruined by penalties, for not swallowing what is imposed under the notion of decency and order, though ex-

centric to the scheme we have of it in our only Rule of Faith. Sir, I entreat you to excuse this trouble from a stranger, who would fain be convinced by something more like divinity than Newgate, where any message from you shall be welcome to

Your Humble Servant,

Thomas De Laune.

From the Press-Yard
Newgate, the 8th
of December, 1683.

To this letter, delivered by my wife, I received an answer to this effect, *That if I had been imprisoned upon the account of answering your book, you would do me any kindness that become you:* But not hearing from you, I sent you the following letter by my wife.

Januarii Die Nono, 1683

Reverende Vir,

QUOD semel atq; iterum concionatus eras, typisq; mandaveras, de dubitanti conscientia, quotquot diversæ sint sententiæ circa quosdam ritus ac ceremonias, ad utriusq; partis rationes examinandas satis; publice vocitaverat.

Tacentibus aliis, in illa re, tibi parebam; non litigandi causa (impar enim est congressus inter te, tantum virum & me tantillum) sed ut hujusmodi litem adimendi, sicuti præceperas, adhibeatur occasio.

Si propter tale (duntaxat) obsequium me penas daturum, nescio quot, quibusve modis decretum fuerit; nunquid nova vincendi ratio in sacris paginis in audita, apud quosdam antesignaos exoritur?

Quid de his rebus sentiendum esse videatur, ex sacro codice ac probatis scriptoribus disquirere propo-

ſuo (te cunctos vacillantes tam acriter invitante) ex illo Lumine ſemitarum, ex illa Lucerna (Pſal. .119, 105.) rationes aliquot hauſeram aduerſus varios ac multiplices errores, qui in eccleſiam irrepſerunt.

Ea ſolu de cauſa uſq; ad carcerem, ubi, nihil amabile eſt, adaſtus ſum.

Utrum iſtiusmodi argumenta valuerent ad veſtra concionis (Hypotheſeis) probandus ſub iudice ſupreme Liſ ſit.

Anve tali modo ullus ex dubitantibus in ſpirituale cogi potuerit ovile, iudex eſto.

Nihil aduerſus Regiam Maieſtatem, nihil de regimine civili, nihil contra monarchiæ pacem aſſeritur.

De rituum æc ceremoniarum origine, deq; rebus quæ ſpecie veritatis, etiamſi parum recte. in dubitantes obijciuntur, ſola diſſertatio eſt.

Quid de me curia decreverit, nescio. Fiat ſummi patris, voluntas. Uniuerſis qui ſalutis humanæ largitorem ſecundum verbum ejus colunt, pacem internam ac externam in hoc æternamq; in futuro ſeculo precatur.

THOMAS DE LAUNE.

Ut reſponſum aliquod, quod theologum decet per dilectiſſimam meam conjugem, uti promiſiſti remittas obſecro.

The Engliſh of which is thus :

REVEREND SIR,

Jan 9. 1683.

“WHAT you once and again preached, and then printed, reſpecting a *Dutiful Conſcience*, has loudly enough, called all ſuch as were diſſatisfied about ſome rites and ceremonies, to examine the reaſons on both ſides.

"Others being silent, I obeyed you in that particular, not merely to wrangle (for the encounter is unequal, betwixt a man so eminent as you are, and so mean a person as I am) but that an occasion may be given, in compliance to what you desired, to conclude controversies of this nature.

"If merely for such obedience I must be punished, I know not how, nor in what manner; is there not a new way of conquering [*Scrupulous Consciences*] unheard of in the holy scriptures, started by some certain ring-leaders?

"I purposed, from holy writ, and approved writers, to examine what we ought to judge of these things. From that light of our paths, and from that lanthorn, Psal. 119. 105. I gathered some reasons against those various and multiplied errors, which have crept into the church.

"For that only thing am I brought to a prison, where there is nothing amiable.

"Whether arguments of that kind will prevail to prove the suppositions in your sermon, let the supreme judge determine.

"Or, whether any of the doubting persons can that way be compelled into the spiritual sheep-fold, judge you?

"There is nothing against the king's majesty, nothing about the civil government, nothing against the peace of this monarchy, there asserted.

"The only dispute is about the original of rites, and ceremonies, and some things, which under a shew of truth, tho' not righteously, are charged on doubting persons.

"What the court will do with me, I know not, the will of the supreme father be done. Inward and outward peace in this, and everlasting peace

in the world to come, to all such as worship the Saviour of mankind according to his word, is prayed for, by

THOMAS DE LAUNE."

I desire you to return me some answer becoming a Divine, by my beloved wife, as you have promised.

To this letter you answered by word of mouth to my wife (for I had no answer in writing) that *you looked on yourself unconcerned, as not being mentioned in the sheet you saw with the recorder*: To satisfy which doubt, I sent you a third letter, with the first sheet of the Book I am imprisoned for; which was a plain demonstration that it was an answer to your call, you know the letter was thus:

January, 14th, 1683.

SIR,

WHEREAS in answer to my two letters, you "said to my wife, that my papers no way concerned you, viz. such as I am indicted for; to satisfy you with respect to that matter, I here send you the first sheet, and leave you to consider, whether in pure generosity you are not obliged to procure a prisoner (whose obedience to you made him so) his liberty.

I am Sir,

Your Humble Servant.

THOMAS DE LAUNE.

I appeal to your conscience, whether I had not some reason to expect some return to these applications? But I had none to any purpose, and that

R

ted but in few words by my wife; I had some thoughts, that you would have performed the office of a divine, in visiting me in my place of confinement: either to argue me out of my doubts, which your promised SCRIPTURE and REASON, not a *mittimus* and *Newgate* could easily do. To the former I can yield—to the latter, it seems I must. This is a severe kind of logic, and will probably dispute me out of this world, as it did Mr. Bampfield and Mr. Ralphson, lately, who were my dear and excellent companions in trouble—and whose absence I cannot but bemoan, as having lost in them a society that was truly pious, truly sweet, and truly amiable: but I hope, the God of mercy will supply the want, by a more immediate influence of comfort, than what can be obtained at second hand.

On the tenth of December, two bills were found against Mr. Ralphson and me, by the grand-jury of London, whose names are as follows:

Thomas Vernon, Thomas Goddard, William Gore, William Willis, Rand. Manning, John Martin, Rich. Hows, Thomas Hodges, Joseph Woolhead, Josiah Ewth, John Paine, William Fazakerly, Joseph Sparrow, John Reendal, David Pool, Richard Beauchamp, Robert Minories.

On the 13th day of the same month, we were called to the sessions in the Old-Bailly; and then our indictments were read in English, to which we pleaded *not guilty*. We desired copies of the said indictments, & time to make our defence till next sessions; which the court, after some pause granted.

The substance of the indictment against me was thus:—*Juratores pro domino rege super sacram sumum*

presentant, quod Thomas De Laune, nuper de London, goner, contemnens, &c.

In plain English thus, as to the material part of it.

The jurors of our lord the king, upon their oath present, that Thomas De Laune, late of London, gent. not regarding his due allegiance, but contriving and intending to disquiet and disturb the peace and common tranquility of this kingdom of England, &c. To bring the said lord the king into the greatest hate and contempt of his subjects.—Machinating and farther intending to move, stir up, and procure sedition and rebellion, and to disparage and scandalize the book of common prayer, &c.

On the 30th day of November in the 35th of the king, at London, in the parish of St. Botolph without bishops-gate, in the ward of bishops-gate, aforesaid, by force and arms, &c. *unlawfully, seditiously and maliciously*, did write, print, and publish, & cause to be written, printed, & published, a certain *false, seditious and scandalous libel*, of and concerning the said lord the king, and the book of common prayer aforesaid; entitled *A PLEA for the NON-CONFORMISTS*.

In which said libel are contained these false, fictitious and scandalous sentences following; viz.

“The church of Rome and England also, are great transgressors, to presume to vary from Christ’s precept, in altering or adding to the form of words, expressed by Christ, in this 11th of Luke, for so they have done: they say, *forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them who trespass against us*; when there are no such words in Christ’s prayer, his words are, *forgive us our sins, or debts, for we also forgive every one that is indebted to us*. And (says the indictment again) in

another part of the said libel are contained these *false, fictitious, seditious and scandalous sentences following*, viz. And may we not say, that in these following particulars, we do symbolize with idolatrous Rome herein? *First*, By enjoining and imposing this (here the indictment makes an *inuendo*) viz. meaning the book of *common-prayer* aforesaid) as a set form; as they do with penalties, contrary to the Scripture. *Secondly*, By an often repetition of the same form in the same exercise, three or four times at least; infomuch, that in the cathedral churches, it is said, or sung, ten or twelve times a day, contrary to Christ's express words, that *when we pray, we do not make vain repetitions as the heathen do; for they think they shall be heard for their much speaking.* *Thirdly*. By enjoining the whole congregation, men and women, to repeat the same after the priest, though no such directions by Christ: nay, he forbids women to pray or prophecy in the church. *Fourthly*, In singing this prayer in the cathedrals by responses of the people, without the least warrant from Christ for such song-praying. [Then the indictment ends with a fearful aggravation, that is] *In contempt to the king, and to the evil and most pernicious example of all such other delinquents in the like case, and against the peace of the said lord, now king, his crown and dignity, &c."*

The copy of the indictment signed Wagstaff.

On the 16th of January we were called again to the sessions house, but there being some trials that proved very tedious, we were not brought on.

The next day we were called to the outer bar, after the attendance of divers hours, in a place not very lovely, and in the sharpest winter that you

have known, which it is likely proved the original of that indisposition, which carried my two friends beyond the jurisdiction of sessions, bale-docks, or press-yards, to a glorious mansion of rest. Then a jury was sworn to pass upon us, whose names were, James Wood, James Smith, Bernard Mynn, Thomas Jenny, Kenelme Smith, Matthew Walker, Thomas Medcalf, John Harbing, Samuel Seale, Laurence Weld, Jonathan Callow, Richard Johnson.

I desired my indictment should be read in latin, which was done. Then the gentlemen of the law, aggravated things with their usual rhetoric; one of them (I think the attorney general) was pleased to say, that the prisoner that stood there before (for Mr. Ralphson was tried before me) did labour to undermine the state; and that man (meaning me) would undermine the church: so that to incense the jury against us, he said, here is church and state struck at. Which sir, was very improbable to be true; for it is wonderful, that any church or state so potent as this, should fear two such underminers, as that extravagant harangue termed us. For my part, I cannot be righteously charged with any attempts against either, unless my obedience to you be so; and then if I be guilty, you that tempted me to it can never prove yourself innocent.

Being desired to speak what I had to say for myself, I spoke the following words, which one that knew me, took in short hand, though without my knowledge.

My LORD,

Last sessions I pleaded not guilty; that is not guilty *modo and forma*; for I designed not *vi and*

arms, to raise *rebellion, sedition, &c.* I detect such things; he that swears in that respect against me, must be perjured,—the instances in the indictment relate to no such thing. My lord, I pray you to trouble no witnesses about me, I will not prevaricate. I have written some papers, entituled, *A Plea for the Non-Conformists*; not instigated by the feigned formalities in the indictment; but it was at the loud challenge of Dr. Calamy, one of the kings chaplains, in his discourse about *Scrupulous Consciences*, dedicated to your Lordship; wherein he called upon doubting persons to examine what could be said on both sides, which I did; now since public challenges are made to be answered, to punish me for obeying a guide of the church, is *hard very hard*.

“I desire that the entire paragraphs may be read from which the crimes charged against me are inferred. If fragments only be produced against me, from which no perfect sense can be deduced, I shall be unfairly dealt with; the coherence of sense in a continued discourse, not scraps and broken pieces of sentences, can demonstrate the scope of an argument.

“If what I have written be true, it is no crime; unless truth be made a crime: If false, let Dr. Calamy, or any of the guides of your church confute me [as he promised, p. 25, of his Sermon afore-said] by good scripture and good reason, then I will submit. If the latter method be not taken, (I must repeat it) it is very hard, my Lord, it is very hard.”

Here the chief Justice interrupted me, addressing himself to the Jury, and expounded that part of the indictment which I excepted against: saying, *It was only for forms-sake, and that any breach of*

the peace in the sense of the law, may be said to be *Vi & Armis*, by force and arms: with some other expressions to that purpose. — To the latter of which I acknowledged, he said after a torrent of aggravation, *Gentlemen, if you believe that man* (pointing to me) *viz. in what I had confessed in writing the Non-Conformist's Plea, you must find him guilty; viz. of the whole indictment.* And which they readily did accordingly.

The next day, viz. the 18th, I received my sentence; the very same with Mr. Ralphson: viz. (As it is recorded.)

Ad general quarterial session. Pacis dom. regly tent, pro civitat. London, per adjournment, apud Justice hall in le old bailey, London. die mercurii scil. Decimo sexto die Januarii, anno R. regis Caroli secundi nunc Anglie, &c. 35.

Thomas De Laune convict. *pro illicite scribend. Imprimend, and publicand. Libel, sedit. der. concern. librum communis precationis. fin 100 marc. et committit, &c. et ulterius quousq; inven. bon de se bene gerend. per spacium unius anni integri ex tunc prox. sequen. et quod libel. seditios. cum igne combust fuit apud excambium regal. in London. et se del. sol. 6s.*

WAGSTAFF.

“ Thomas De Laune fined 100 marks, and to be kept prisoner, &c. [which &c. they interpret until he pay his fine] and to find good security for his good behaviour for one whole year afterwards; and that the said books, and seditious libels by him published, shall be burnt with * fire, before the royal-exchange in London. And if he be discharged to pay † six shillings.

* Not with water you must note
† To the hangman for the faggots I suppose.

Signed WAGSTAFF.

The recorder asked me some questions then; viz. *Whether I was in orders?* I told him, I was never in any ecclesiastical orders, nor never preached among any people: That I was bred a scholar, and had been a school-master, and kept a grammar school, until forced from it by the present prosecutions, &c.

The court told both Mr Ralphson and me, "that in respect to our education, as, scholars, we should not be pilloried though (*it was said*) we deserved it."

We were sent back to our place of confinement, and the next *execution-day* our books were burnt as the sentence ordered it, WITH FIRE, in the place aforesaid, and we continue here; but since I writ this, Mr. Ralphson had a *superfedeas*, by death to a better place.

Thus Sir. you have a series of my circumstances; I will make no complaints of the usage I had when forced, as aforesaid, to lodge among a rabble of wretches, whose society seemed to me, to be an hell upon earth, as before; nor of my other hardships, as confinement, loss of employment, loss of health, &c. But if you have any sense of humanity in you, you will recollect yourself, and procure me my freedom, (being not able to pay the fine) lost by obedience to your public call. Sir, I must tell you plainly, that you discovered in your very dedication to Sir George Jefferies, now chief justice, a kind of doubt, to say no more, respecting your cause.

You say there (*page 2, epist. ded.*) "How many it (*viz. your sermon*) will anger and displease, I am not at all concerned, and though I may be

thought by some ill-advised, in publishing such a sermon; yet, every * one will commend and justify my discretion, in prefixing your name before it: For so great an awe have the † enemies of our church and government, of your loyalty and fidelity to both, that they will not dare loudly to condemn what you are pleased to protect, they will be justly afraid of quarrelling with me, when they know I have engaged you on my side."

* *Of your mind.*

† *meaning Protestant dissenters.*

From these expressions I must conclude (if you are in earnest) that you care not how much you offend your weak brother. The apostle Paul was of another mind, *Rom. 15, 1. We then that are strong, ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves; let every one of us please his neighbour for edification: Pray consider this, and what follows in the same chapter: And 1 Cor. 8, 12. But when you sin so against the brethren, and wound their weak consciences, ye sin against Christ. Ver. 13. Wherefore if meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend. And in 1 Thes. 5, 14. the same evangelical doctor exhorts you, To comfort the feeble-minded, support the weak, and to be patient towards all men. And Gal. 6. 1. To restore the faulty in the spirit of meekness.*

What a superlative, what a true christian compliance is here! Worth the imitation of the guides of your church! This apostle would rather make a perpetual fast from flesh, than offend his weak brother. And I am apt to think, no flourish of pulpit-rhetoric ever dropt from him, to grieve his

weak brethren, and that he never shrouded his writings or preachings, under the terrible patronage of such men as you represent Sir George Jeffries to be. I have a kind of fancy that your said patron, now lord chief justice, as he is a gentleman in eminent place, and of a piercing judgment, strong memory, and of fluent oratory, could not but look through the superficial addresses of that dedication.

In the second place a man so dignified as he is, must certainly take it as an affront to his title of lord chief justice; that you should say, that men will be *justly afraid of quarrelling* with you, when they know you have engaged him on your side. That same word [afraid] denotes a champion-like courage in you that no body should dare to come near you; and withal a reflection on the justice of your patron, that will take your part right or wrong. As to the word [quarrelling] I know no body that has assualted you in any more perilous attack, than in examinig the merits of the cause, as you preached, and by the same sermon (transfigured from the press) invited men to do.

No force and arms were used against you by me, but pen, ink, and a few papers. The indictment makes this a very formidable kind of artillery.

But to bring the matter a little closer, I must desire you will please to take notice of this heinous charge given in against me, and how made good in the indictment, and how severely handled both by the *juries* and *court* thereupon.

The charge as you have heard, is, "For intending to disturb the public peace; to bring the king into the greatest hate and contempt of his subjects; to stir up and procure sedition and rebellion; [an high and heinous charge indeed!] But how is it

made good? viz. By my disparaging the book of COMMON PRAYER. But how doth that appear? viz. By force and arms used unlawfully, sediciously, and maliciously, to write, print and publish a sedicious and scandalous libel, concerning our Lord the king and the book of common prayer, entitled, a Plea for the Non-Conformists; But wherein doth it appear by any thing which is written in that book, that this heinous charge is made good? viz. By their pregnant instances produced out of the book expressed in the indictment."

The which therefore, since we must suppose, they are the most heinous and dangerous passages to be found therein, and most proper and significant to make good the charge; I shall, for your information, and that you may the better judge how the charge is proved against me, give you the entire paragraph out of which the instances were picked, which I must beg the justice of you to read; and which I could not, with all my entreaties, obtain of the court, tho' so necessary (as you will find) to come to the right sense: (and for greater illustration, I shall distinguish the instances of the indictment in a different character.) Know therefore, that I having (in the Plea for the *Non-Conformists*, from p. 16.) at your desire, been giving an account what the *Non-Conformists* answer to that great objection, that all things they scruple in the rites and ceremonies of the church, are not popish novelties, but of primitive antiquity, (as you say) and having distinctly gone thro' most of them, giving their reasons, why they are not of primitive antiquity, but of popish novelty, and contained in the mass-book:—This objection came to be started, p. 47.

Object. " But what do you say to the Lord's prayer? must we forbear that too, because we find it in the mass-book; tho' so publicly enjoined by Christ, to use it as a stinted form, Luk. 11. 2. That when we pray, we should say, our father, &c.

Answer. To which the *Non-Conformists* say, " That it is a great mistake, to suppose that Christ hereby in this scripture, has appointed this to be a set-form to be prayed by all, in these prescript words, when we pray unto God, for then it would be unlawful to use any other words, than these herein expressed in our prayers; and that the Disciples and Apostles, sinned in using other words, in those their prayers, we read of in Scripture, and so does the church of England, in forming so many collects and prayers. And p. 48, 49, 50.

Secondly, " The church of Rome and England are great transgressors, to presume to vary from Christ's precepts; in altering or adding to the form of words expressed by Christ, in this 11th of Luke; for so they have done, they say, *forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them who trespass against us,* when there are no such words in Christ's prayer; his words are *forgive us our sins, or debts, — for we, also, forgive every one that is indebted to us.*" Which (says the indictment) are false, fictitious, and scandalous sentences; but it shews not wherein.

" And also the doxology, which is not in this prayer in Luke, 11. [viz. *For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.*] But you will say, as to the doxology, it is expressed by Christ, at the end of the same prayer in his sermon on the mount, Mat. 6. It is very true, it is so; where he delivers this prayer, not as a set-form, but a pattern of prayer: *After*

this manner pray ye ; or, to this purpose ; and which is an explication of what he says *Luke 11. 2. When you pray say our Father, &c.* That is, after this manner ; and which can only be a warrant to the church of England, or any other to make such alterations ; Christ no more intended to tie the disciple, who desired to be instructed how to pray, to this form of words, (nor any other disciple) than he did the twelve disciples, when he sent them out to preach with this word of command, *Mat. 10. 7. Preach, saying, the kingdom of Heaven is at hand ;* that they should thereby be tied to those very words in their preaching? (and preach nothing else) but as this was given as a text or theme, to preach by, so the other to pray by : The disciple, who proposes the question, *Ver. 1.* desires, they may be taught to pray as John taught his disciples ; but such a set-form of prayer, we find not, that John in his teachings, gave to his disciples ; neither do we find, that any of Christ's disciples, or apostles, did pray this very prayer ; to which our expositors do agree.

“ Grotius, on *Luke 11. 2.* saith, that Christ herein teacheth us a compendium of those things we are to pray for ; at that time (saith he) they were not bound to the use of so many words and syllables : as also Turtullian, Cyprian, Musculus Cornelius A-Lapide, and Austin himself (upon the place) who saith *Liberum est*, it is free for us to ask the same thing in the Lord's-prayer, *Alis atq; aliis Virbis*, sometimes one way, and sometimes another.

“ Does not Paul tell us expressly, he knew not what to pray for, but as the spirit gave him utterance. *Rom. 8.* but he did know what to pray for, if this was to be his prescript form.

“ Turtullian saith, they prayed *sine Monitore*, without a Monitor, (or common prayer book.) And Socrates tells us, that among all the christians of that age, scarce two were to be found that used the same words in prayer. Chrysostom on *Rom. 8. Homil. 14.* saith, with other gifts they had the gift of prayer, which was also called the spirit; but he who had the gift, did pray for the whole multitude; for that was expedient unto the church, and, also did instruct others to pray.

“ And though we find neither Christ, nor his apostles, impose this or any other form of prayer to be used by us (but that we pray in the spirit and praise in the spirit; and that God being a spirit, seeketh and accepteth such worshipers) yet we find the popes, and their councils imposing this, and other liturgical forms.

“ The council of Toledo, Anno 618, decreed in the ninth canon, that every day both in public and private worship, none of the clergy omit the Lord's prayer, under pain of deposition; since (say they) Christ hath prescribed this, saying, *When you pray say, Our Father, &c.* And how formally and carnally, has the *pater-noster* been muttered over by the superstitious papists ever since.

“ And may we not enquire, whether in the following particulars we do not symbolize with the Romish worship herein.” *Which the indictment injuriously words thus.*

And may we not say in these following particulars [for may we not enquire, whether in the following particulars] we do symbolize with idolatrous Rome herein: For we do not symbolize with the Romish herein [meaning saith the indictment with

an innuendo] the book of *common-prayer*; whereas it only relates to the *Lord's prayer*.

"First, by enjoining and imposing this as a set-form, without the sanction of any sacred text to warrant it: [Which the indictment words contrary to the scriptures.]

"Secondly, By an often repetition of the same form in the same exercise, three or four times at least, insomuch that in cathedral services, it is said or sung, ten or twelve times in a day, contrary to Christ's express words, that *when we pray, we should not make vain repetitions, as the heathen do, for they think they shall be heard for their much speaking.* Mat. 6. 7.

"Thirdly, By enjoining the whole congregation, both men and women, to repeat the same after the priest, though no such direction by Christ; nay he forbids women to pray or prophecy in the church, 1 Cor. 14. 34, &c.

"Fourthly, In singing this prayer in cathedrals by responses of priests and people, with music, without the least divine authority for such song-paying."

Which the indictment saith are *fictitious, seditious and scandalous sentences*. (But shews not wherein.) Thus have you the whole paragraph, and what is picked out of it, to make good the charge; whereby you will easily discern,

First, Whether I have done otherwise therein than given you at your call, a true and modest account of the Non-Con- Query 1.
formists arguments, why the Lord's prayer is not a stinted set-form of prayer, as supposed, but a pattern to pray by, which is done by several arguments: viz.

1st, From the practice of both churches, Rome and England, who have both altered and added to it, which they ought not to have done (no, not so much as one syllable) if so intended by Christ.

2^{dly}, From the practice of the ancients, and opinions of many learned commentators upon the place.

3^{ly}, Because neither Christ nor his apostles, have so enjoined, and practised it as a stilted form.

4^{thly}, Because the church of Rome, without scripture authority, has so imposed and practised it; and therefore are those queries, whether for us so to impose it with penalties, and to make often repetitions of it, with responses of priests and people, and to sing it with music, is not without scripture warrant, and a symbolizing with Rome therein? And where is the *sedition, rebellion, breaking the public peace by force and arms* in all this?

Secondly, Whether the picking out part, and leaving out the greater part, changing

Query 2. of words, and inverting of sense, is not most injurious dealing? For what is it not, which may not be made of any mans sayings and writings, if such a liberty may be taken? For may it not with such a latitude, be proved by Scripture, that there is no God; or any such blasphemy, or immorality?

Thirdly, Whether the grand-jury, in honest and good conscience, could find this bill

Query 3. upon their oaths, and the petty jury cast me upon it, and the court pass sentence upon me thereupon, without admitting the whole paragraph to be read and considered, as was so earnestly desired by me.

Fourthly, If this writing of mine was only oc-

caſioned and drawn forth at your call, as your book evidences, and as declared to the court; then doth not that heinous charge, of a malicious and ſeditious contriving, intending, and machinating, *ſedition and rebellion*, and violating *public peace*, fall to the ground?

Fifthly, If this part of the *Non-Conformiſts Plea* be true, where is the crime?

Must I be made guilty, and puniſhed *Query 5.* for ſpeaking the truth? And if you were ſo ſatiſfied, why did you not interpoſe, to prevent a precipitate ſentence and verdict, and preſerve an innocent perſon? If it appeared otherwiſe to you, why did you not by word and writing endeavour my conviction, and ſhew me my error and miſtake before the ſeſſions, that I might publicly have owned, and taken the ſhame, as my three letters with ſo much importunity preſſed upon you? And that I was neither obſtinate nor incorrigible, you have again and again under my hand? And what an open ear I had to receive conviction from reaſon and Scripture, the mediums you propoſed to treat a *ſcrupulous Conſcience* with, and thereby have acquitted yourſelf from being a decoy, to inveigle into the ſnare, and then leave them: but wholly to reject both, and ſilently to ſuffer me to be cruſhed is worſe dealing, and leſs charity, than the guides of the church put forth in Queen Mary's days; who failed not of priſon-viſits, and endeavours to convince the *hereticks* [as they called them] before they were delivered to the ſecular powers for deſtruction.

Sixthly, Whether from this liberty that is

taken in indictments (as in Chancery-Bills) to say the worst of things which may be said against any, and assign the matter of fact to prove it, foreign thereto; yet that the juries finding the matter of fact, must render a man guilty of the whole indictment, both matter and form, seems very hard; and no other than turning judgment into wormwood and hemlock, and bringing a legal proceeding into great contempt?

For instance, if a man is charged in an indictment, that he, contrary to his allegiance, and not having the fear of God before his eyes, but being moved by the instigation of the Devil, did, such a day in such a place, bring the king into the greatest hate and contempt amongst his subjects, and did maliciously and seditiously, &c. against the public peace, by force and arms, read a chapter in the Bible in English before several people (which was crime enough heretofore, however it is now) that the proving and confessing the matter of fact (or any of the like nature) as foreign from the crimes urged, must according to our court-proceedings, bring him in guilty of the whole indictment, in order to be sentenced accordingly.

But ought not a jury, before they bring in their verdict upon oath, as they would acquit themselves of the horrid sin of perjury, to examine and have sufficient proof, to make good these luxuriant cut-throat forms? And whether such matter of fact, either by the righteous law of GOD or man, can render a man culpable of so heinous a charge, of *malice, sedition, rebellion*, bringing the king into *hated and contempt*, breaking the *public peace* by

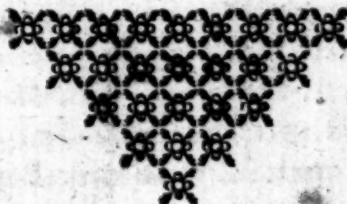
force and arms, before they make him guilty thereof, and cause him to be punished for the same?

Thus, SIR, you have a naked account of my case, and if you please, or any other of the church guides, to examine the respective circumstances of it, or apply that sov'reign medium of *good scripture* and *good reason* to convince me, you, or they will satisfy the world, that ye are honest guides of the church, and reduce many to your communion, as well as

Your Humble Servant,

THOMAS DE LAUNE.

F I N I S.



15 OC 61

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 Deacon Joseph Brown, *Middletown*

Edmond Bigelow, do
Timothy Blanchard,—
Rutland.

Ebenezer Blanchard, do
Benj. Blanchard, jun. do
Eli Beebe, *Tinmouth.*
Thaddeus Bacon, *Hamp-*
ton.

Berley Blackman, do
James Burt, 12 co. *Ox-*
ford.

Levi Brooks, *Thurman.*

Bildad Benson, do

John Bratt, do

Dyer Burdick, do

Samuel Barber 3 co. do

George Babcock, do

Solomon Braley, *Chester.*

Stephen Baley, do

Abner Brown, *Fairfield.*

Peter Brown, do

Nathan Brockway,—
Brodalbin.

Caleb Blood, M. G.
Shaftsbury.

Ebenezer Bolton, do

Isaac Beal, *Clarendon.*

Moses Buck, do

William P. Benson, do

Edward Barber, Jun.
Argyle.

John Brewer, *Cam-*
bridge.

Nathan Bennet, esq.
Stillwater.

Charles Burgefs, do
Ebenezer Blackwell, do
Seth Blackwell, do

George Buck, do

John Buck, do

Joseph Bump, do

Nathaniel Brown, *Sher-*
born.

Bostwick Brown, *Sche-*
naclady.

John Bradshaw, *Half-*
moon.

Daniel Bushnell, *Litch-*
field.

William Brewer, do

Silas Baker, *White-hall.*

C

Elisha Cogswell, *Milton*

Smith Cogswell, do.

Stephen Cogswell, do

Daniel Couch, jun. Esq.
do

Benjamin Cross, do

Russel Chatfield, do

Capt. Ebenezer Couch,
do

Joel B. Couch, do

Levi Couch, do

Daniel Couch, do

John Craig, do

David Curtiss, do

Salmon Cogswell, *Still-*
water.

Ephraim Child, M. D.
do

William Cole, do
 Isaac Cole, do
 Isaiah Canfield, do
 Anthony Colamer, do
 Doty Colamer do.
 Benjamin Cole, do
 Abner Carpenter, M. D
 do

Samuel Clark, esq. do
 John Canfield, do
 Dean Chase, do
 James Cotter, do
 Samuel Cooper, do
 Rev. Robert Campbell,
 do

Mark A. Child, *Fair-*
field.

Joel Cross, do
 Gilbert Caswell, esq. do
 Enoch Chapin, *Ballston.*
 Elisha Chard, do
 Rufus Chapin, do
 John Calkins, do
 Ebenezer Clark do
 Nathan Comstock, *Gal-*
way.

Arthur Colwell, do
 Nehemiah Cande, esq.
 do
 Elder, Joseph Cornell, do
 Elisha Cornell, do
 Salmon Child, *Green-*
field.

Anthony Creal, do.
 Benjamin Cross, do

Daniel Church, do
 Benjamin Carpenter, do
 Jephtha Clerk, do
 Solomon Cook do
 Edward Callen, *Charl-*
ton.

Asher Cook. do
 Philo Cleveland, do.
 Jacob Cleveland, do
 Samuel Cook, 2 co. do
 David Collins, do
 Aaron Cook, do
 Timothy Crane, do
 Jesse Candey, do
 Ruffel Cole, *Kingsbury.*
 Samuel Chapin, *Aureli-*
us.

Asel Cooley, do
 Judah Chace, *Provi-*
dence.

Afa Clark, *Broadalben.*
 Ebenezer Case, do
 Royal Cole, *Worcester.*
 James Croel, *Northum-*
berland.

Joseph Card, do
 John Cady, *Saratoga.*
 Jeremiah Cady, do
 Tobias Clements, do
 Thomas Clark, do
 Cyrel Carpenter, M. D.
 do

John Crippen, do
 Ashbel Cornwell, *May-*
field.

Lemuel Covill M. G.	Amos Collings, <i>Hamp-</i>
12 co, <i>Pittston.</i>	<i>ton.</i>
Benjamin Cole, <i>Sbafts-</i>	Alpha Chaffee, <i>Thur-</i>
<i>bury.</i>	<i>man.</i>
Ichabod Cross, do	John Cameron, do
Comfort Curtiss, <i>Cam-</i>	James Cameron, do
<i>bridge.</i>	William Cameron, do
Israel Craw, do	John Camron, do
Wm. Campbell, <i>Half-</i>	D
<i>moon.</i>	Joseph Denison, <i>Green-</i>
John Cramer, do	<i>field.</i>
Jeremiah Coon, do	Benjamin Dougless, do
Isaac Cane, <i>Litchfield.</i>	Bartlett Deak, do
Medad Canfield, do	Nathaniel Daniels, do
Hoseah Crippen, <i>Gran-</i>	Preston Denton, do
<i>ville.</i>	Samuel Davis, M. D.
Joseph Crippen, do	<i>Ballston.</i>
Charles Crippen, do	Francis Drake, esq. at-
Daniel Curtice, esq. do	torney at law, do.
Tracy Cleveland, <i>Paw-</i>	Peter Darrow, do
<i>let.</i>	David Dewey, do
Eleazer Calkins, <i>Poult-</i>	James Delong, do
<i>ney.</i>	Edward Dolph, do
Seth Cran, do	Joseph Davis, do
Reuben Cole, <i>Hart-</i>	Miss Caty Doiels, <i>Gal-</i>
<i>ford.</i>	<i>way.</i>
Joseph Crandle, <i>Argyle</i>	Jehiel Dean, do
Wait Chatterton, <i>Rut-</i>	Isaiah Dean, do
<i>land.</i>	James Degolyer, da
Obediah Chapman, do	Abiel Davis, <i>Milton.</i>
Isaac Chatterton, do	Thomas I. Darrow, do
Joseph Chubb, <i>Middle-</i>	Samuel Dupée, do
<i>town.</i>	James Dalton, 4 co <i>New-</i>
Ziba Caswell, do	<i>bury-Port.</i>
Bratt Caswell, do	William Daniels, <i>Scipio.</i>

T

Jonathan Dunham,—
Northampton.

Peter Deremer, *Charl-*
ton.

John Deremer, do
Gershom Darling, *Fair-*
field.

Gershom Darling, do
Gershom Darling, Jr. do
Jabez Dean, *Worcester.*
Moses F. Deleldernior.
Cobuskill.

Elijah Dunham, *North-*
umberland.

Edward Dunham, do
Walter P. Doe, do
Hezekiah Dunham, *Sa-*
ratoga.

Daniel Dodge, *Amster-*
dam.

Charles Dyer, *Shaft-*
bury.

Capt. Michael Dun-

ning, Jun. *Stillwater.*

Capt. Wm. Dunning, do
Capt. Richard Dun-

ning, do
Col. Daniel Dickinson,

do
Calvin Demon, do

Benjamin Denflow,—
Litchfield.

Joel Dodge, *Granville.*

Jordon Dodge, do

Peter Dodge, do

David Daor, do

Gad Daniell, *Rutland.*

Reuben Doolittle,—
Hampton.

E

Samuel English, *Ball-*
ston.

Israel Everitt, do.

Joseph Elliott, do

Henry Edwards, do

Jeremiah Eells, *Milton.*

Nathan Eddy, *Provi-*
dence.

William Eldredge, *Cam-*
bridge.

Jael Edson, M. D.
Halfmoon.

Caleb Ellis, *Saratoga.*

Samuel Elmond, do

Ezekiel Ellis, *Chester.*

Dudley Emmerson,—
Northumberland.

F

Samuel Frink, *Milton.*

Nathan Frink, do

Henry Frink, 3 co. do

Edward Frink, do

Jonah Foster, do

James Freeman, *Gal-*
way.

James Freeman, do

Eliphaz Fish, jun. *Still-*
water.

Vincent Foster, do

John Fellows, do

John Farmer, *Saratoga*.
 Caleb Fish, do
 John Field, do
 John Flint, *Northum-*
berland.
 Confider Fox, *Broadal-*
bin.
 Calvin Freeman, do
 Alexander Ferguson,—
Charlton.
 Arnold W. Foster,—
Litchfield.
 Eliphalet Fuller,— do
 Nathan Fitch, *Green-*
field.
 Timothy Fuller, *North-*
ampton.
 Amos Fuller, do
 Nathan Faldick, *Hart-*
ford.
 Nathan Ford, *Middle-*
town.
 Jonathan Fuller, do
 Jehiel Fox, M.G. 12 co.
Chester.

G

William Grace, *Stillwa-*
ter.
 Samuel Gregory, do
 Enos Gregory, do
 Elliot Green, do
 James Garnsey, *Ball-*
ton.
 John Griswold, jun. do
 Mrs. Polly Gordon, 2
 co do

Resolved Givens, do
 Joseph Garret, do
 Ebenezer Goodrich,—
Milton.
 David Grummon, do
 Alexander Glen, do
 Allen Glen, do
 Capt. Gideon Goodrich,
 2 co. do
 Rev. Elias Gilbert,—
Greenfield.
 David Graves, do
 Joseph Gilbert, do
 John Gilmore, do
 Lewis Graves, Esq. do
 John Gilbert, *Galway*.
 Capt. Isaac Geer, do
 Roswell Glas, *Amster-*
dam.
 Reuben Glas, do
 James Glas, do
 James Goodwin, *Provi-*
dence.
 John Godfrey, *Broad-*
albin.
 Hezekiah Gorton, M.G.
 do
 Joseph Gelson, *North-*
umberland.
 Charles Granger, do
 George Griswold, do
 Joseph Gorton, *May-*
field.
 David Gorton, do
 Eleazer Gaylor, do

- Henry Green, *Wallingford*.
 Benoni Gardner, *Cambridge*.
 William Groven, *Halfmoon*.
 Ebenezer Goodale,—
Litchfield.
 Capt. Seth Goodwin, do
 David Gould, do
 John Greffeth, *Whitehall*.
 Joseph Gibbs, do
 Asa Gardner, *Middletown*.
 Benjamin Gates do
 William Green, *Clarendon*.
 James Green, *Saratoga*.
 Augustus Green, do
 Anthony Glean, do
 Jesse Gage, *Thurman*.
 Kirk Patrick Gay, do
 George Gillespy, *Charlton*.
 James Gillespy, do
 H
 Henry Hays, *Galway*.
 Arthur Hewit, do
 Edmond Hewitt, do
 Benjamin Howd, *Stillwater*.
 Thaddeus Histed, do
 Nathaniel Hewitt, do
 John Hunter, do
 George Hunter, esq. do
 Amos Hodgman, do
 Calvin Hurd, do
 Collins Hathorn, *Greenfield*.
 Francis Hopps, do
 Jonathan Hoyt, do
 James Holmes, *Charlton*
 Gideon Hawley, do
 John Holmes, do
 Daniel Hill, do
 David Hubbell, do
 David How, *Ballston*.
 Daniel Hawkins, do
 John Hoyt, do
 Onisimus Hubbell, do
 Silas Hains, do
 Dorastus Hollister, do
 Silas Hollister, do
 Reuben Hollister, do
 Solomon Hollister, do
 Ezekiel Horton, do
 Elias Hedges, do
 Justice Harris, *Halfmoon*,
 Dan Hart, *Milton*.
 Christopher Hewit, do
 Samuel Heyden, do
 Elijah Hanchet, M. D.
 do
 Stephen Hammond,—
Amsterdam.
 Thomas Hoes, do
 Hon. Cornelius Humphrey, esq. *Salisbury*.

Ebenezer Hill, *Schaghticoke.*

Afa Harris, *Scipio.*

Samuel Halsted, *Providence.*

Elisha Hewett, sen. do

John Holmes, *Floraday.*

Jonathan Hodges,—
Northumberland.

John Hamilton, do

William Huxford, do

Calvin Hubbert, do

Joseph Hayford, do

Ichabod Hawley, esq.
12 co. do

Isaiah Hendryse, *Bennington.*

John Huntington,—
S Shaftsbury.

James Harrington, do

James Holt, *Cambridge.*

Azariah Hanks, do

John Hill, do

John Hill, jun. do

Micajah Holcomb,—
Litchfield.

Samuel Hatch, *Whitehall.*

Moses Harvey, do

Daniel B. Hicks, *Granville.*

Silvanus Holly, M. G.
do

Sillick Holly, do

John How, *Rutland.*

T 2

Rev. Lemuel Haynes, do

William Harrington,
Clarendon.

David Howel, do

Luke Hill, *Tinmouth.*

Jonathan Haynes, *Middletown.*

Silvanus Haynes, do

Wilter Hyde, *Hampton.*

Joseph Hyde, jun.

John Hathords, *Warwick.*

Andrew Hall, *Fairfield.*

Richard Hemfrought,
do

Joseph Houldon, *Thurman.*

William Hough, jun. do

Samuel Harnden, 12 co.
do

Jesse Hicks, *Chester.*

Clark Hendrick, M. G.
Rupert.

Justice Hull, M. G. 12
co. *Stepbentown.*

I

Thomas Ireland, *Schaghticoke.*

David Irish, M. G.
Scipio.

Benjamin Irish, jun. *Aurelius.*

Smiten Irish, *Camilus.*

Benjamin Ide, *Northumberland.*

J

Joshua Jones, *Milton*.
 Stephen Jackson do
 Joseph Josselin, do
 Thomas Jefferies, do
 Aaron Jackson, *Ballston*.
 Nathaniel Jennings, do
 Joseph Jeffers, *Stillwater*.
 Cyrus Jackeways, do
 James Jobes, *Galway*.
 Deodat Jeffers, *Greenfield*.
 Peter Johnson, *Halfmoon*
 William C. Jones *Litchfield*.
 Thomas Jones, do
 Deacon John Johnson, *Rutland*.
 Zachariah Johnson, do
 John Johnson, *Clarendon*.
 Capt. William Johnson, *Thurman*.
 Joseph Johnston, *Charlton*.

K

Joel Keeler, *Milton*.
 Isaac Keeler, do
 David King, do
 William King, *Halfmoon*.
 Robert Kennedy, do
 William Kingsley, *Ballston*.

Nathaniel Keeler, *Galway*.

Jonas Keeler, do
 David Knapp, do
 John King, *Schaghticoke*.
 Seth Kirby, *Charlton*
 John Kendal, *Clarendon*.
 Jason Kellog, *Hampton*.
 John Kinyon, *Thurman*.
 Thurston Kinyon, do
 Robert Clark, M. D. &
 Obediah Knapp, 12 co.
Chester.

Samuel Kent, *Rupert*.

L

John Lee, *Milton*.
 Moses Leonard, do
 Edward Lacy, do
 Ezra Lyon, do
 Nathaniel Lane, *Providence*.
 Elias Lee, M. G. 12 co.
Ballston.
 Elisha P. Langworthy,
 6 co. do
 Samuel Lee, do
 James Lacy, do
 Samuel Lacy do
 Joseph Larkin do
 Josiah G. Leavett,—
Charlton.
 Arnold Lewis, *Galway*.
 John Lyon do
 Abraham Lent, *Schaghticoke*.

Abel Lamphear, 2 co.
Easton.

Garrit Lansing, jun. do

John Lambeard, *Scipio.*

John Loveless, *Greenfield.*

Philip Lent, do

Peter Loop, *Fairfield.*

Henry Loop, do

John Lawrence, *Fort-Edward.*

Silas Lashere, *Cambridge*

Capt Luther Landon,
Stillwater.

Daniel Lamb, *White-Hall.*

Benjamin Little, do

Israel Lamb, esq. *Granville.*

Nathan Lee, *Hartford.*

Epaphras Loomis, *Rutland.*

Joshua Lovett, *Middle-town.*

Moses Leech, do

Samuel Lewis, *North-umberland.*

M

Alpheus Moore, *Mil-ton.*

Angus M'Dairmid, do

Enos Mores, do

Curtis Mann, do

Hezekiah Middlebrook,
do

Timothy Miller, do

Samuel Mills, do

John Merritt, do

Jehoida Millard, do

Rev James M'Kinny, A.
M. do

Benjamin Munger, *Stillwater.*

John Malery, do

Dennes Marvin, do

Gideon Morey, do

Eleazer Millard, do

William Montgomery,
do

H. Medcalf, Esq. Att'y.
at law do

Hiram Mosier, do

Rev. Daniel Marsh, V.
D. M. do

Obediah Matthews, do

Thomas Morrison, do

Charles Moore, do

Jesse Mott, Esq. do

Daniel M'Bride, do

John M'Bride, do

Adonijah Moody, *Ballston.*

William Mulholland,
do

Elisba Miller, do

Peter Muir, do

John Marvin, do

Michael Middlebrook,
do

Archelaus Maker, do

Samuel M'Crea, do
 Samuel Mix, *Fairfield*,
 Daniel Mills, do
 Salmon Munger, *Sara-*
toga.

Daniel Morgan, do
 Jesse Meriam, *Provi-*
dence.

Eusebens Matthews, do
 John Munro, M. G.
Galway.

Benajah Moon, do
 James M'Allen, do
 Rev. James Mairs, A.
 M. do

William M'Cartney, do
 Robert M'Donald, do
 James Morehouse, *Wor-*
cester.

David Mattison, *Ar-*
lington.

Peleg Mattison, *Shaft-*
bury.

Francis Mattison, do
 Charles P. Moore, *Cam-*
bridge.

James Mulkins, do,
 Thomas Mauncey, 6 co
Albany.

Enos M'Mullen, *Thur-*
man.

Richard Moon, do
 John Merrill, do

Daniel B. Munger,—
Chester

Joseph Mead, do
 Noah Mead, do
 Isaac Mead, do
 Nehemiah Mead, do
 Gideon Marton, *Green-*
field.

Jacob Miller, do
 Alexander M'Queen,—
Mayfield.

Peter M'Kenlay, do
 Archibald Murry,—
Charlton.

Joseph Morris, do
 Mecajah Minfield, do
 William Mead, M. D.
 do

John M'Kinney, do
 Samuel Murrey, Esq.
Litchfield.

Jesse Mattison, do
 Samuel Murdock, *Gran-*
ville.

Capt. Samuel L. Miner
Middletown.

Gideon Miner, jun. do
 Alexander Murray, do
 Joel Miner, do
 Deacon Henry Mattison,
Hartford.

Capt. Abner Mead,—
Rutland.

Mrs. Mary Mead win-

ow, do
 Elias Mungor, do
 William Morris, *Hamp-*
ton.

Soloman Morris, do
David Morgan, do
Joseph Maseph, do
Seth Marvin, *Oxford.*

N

Rial Newland, *Stillwater.*

Samuel Norton, *Greenfield.*

Robert Nughgon, *Amsterdam.*

Joseph Newland, *Galway.*

Thompson Norton, do

Lewis Northup, *Milton*

Clark Northrup, do

Jonathan Nash, do

Samuel Newel, *Northumberland.*

Capt. John Nash, *Ballston.*

Samuel Nash, do

Thaddeus Northrup, *Charlton.*

Wilson Northrup, do

Daniel Nichols, *Granville.*

Francis Newham, do

Aaron Norton, *Hartford.*

Benj. Norton, *Rutland.*

Samuel Naughton, —
Hampton.

O

Ezra Osborn, *Ballston.*

Duncan Oliphant, do

David Odell, do

Joel Osburn, *Galway.*

Ephraim Osbourn, —
Northumberland.

Elijah Owen, jun. *Mil-*
P [ton.

Calvin Peck, *Greenfield.*

Col. Rufus Price, do

Asahel Porter, do

Paul Perry, do

Eliphalet Peck, *Milton.*

Elisha Powell, 12 co. do

Samuel Pike, do

Squire Patchin, do

Hon. Beriah Palmer,
esq. *Ballston.*

Thaddeus Patchin, do

Jared Patchin, do

Almon Perry, do

John Parke, do

Silas Pierfon, do

Lemuel Powers, M. G.
Stillwater.

Elijah Porter, M. D. do

Silas Peckham, do

Samuel Phelps, do

Obadiah Powell, do

Rev. Winslow Page, A.
M. do

Capt. Amos Prime, do

William Pells, do

Oliver Perkins, *Saratoga.*

Gideon Putnam, do

Levi Page, *Coventry.*

John A. Potter, *Galway*

Hon. Jedediah Peck, esq.

Burlington, Otsego co.

Asel Park, *Northamp-*
ton.

Nathaniel Perkins,—

Broadalbin.

Nathan Powers, *Flora-*
day.

Simeon Phelps, *Provi-*
dence.

John Post, *Cambridge.*

Isaac Prouty, do

William Powers, do

Levi Pawling, *Half-*
moon.

Abijah Peck, do

Matthew Palmer, do

Joshua Palmerton, do

Moses Phelps, *Charlton.*

Ethan Pier, *Rutland.*

Solomon Purdy, do

Joshua Pratt, do

John Parker, *Ruport.*

Moses Perkins, *Hamp-*
ton.

James Parker, *Thurman*

Jeremiah Potter, do

John Pasko, do

Philaster Pinney, do

John Punderson, *Chester*

Joel Phelps, *Fairfield.*

R

Zeno Remington, *Ball-*
ston.

Ebenezer Robertson, do

Paul Richards, do

Miss Esther Clarinda

Robertson, do

Jesse Roberts, do

Peter Roe, do

John Rogers, do

Salmon Rowland, do

John Read, do

David Rogers, 12 co. do

Silvanus Rugg, *Milton.*

David Ross, do

Jeremiah Rockwell, 12
co do

Josiah Remington, *Cam-*
bridge.

Russel Rising, 2 co. do

Josiah Remington, jun.
do

Israel Rose, jun. *Green-*
field.

Mrs Eunice Rose, do

Miss Mary Rose, do

Preserved Redway, *Gal-*
way.

Peleg Randal, *North-*
umberland.

Solomon Root, *Argyle.*

Moses Robinson, *Ben-*
nington.

Jonathan Rolin, do

David Robinson, do

Samuel Rogers, *Hoosick.*

David Rumsey, jun.
Halfmoon.

John Rice, *Stillwater.*
 George Richardson, do
 Ezekiel Rooks, do
 John Rowley, do
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Jeremiah Russell, Esq.
Fairfield.
 Eliphalet Remington,
Litchfield.

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 Abraham Reed *Gran-*
ville.

Abraham Richardson,
 do
 Phinehas Root, do
 Amasa Robinson, jun.
Clarendon.

Caleb Reynolds, *Thur-*
man.
 Benjamin Rathbourn,—
Chester.

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 David Swan, do
 Ezra Starr, do
 Joseph Stuart, do
 Dennis Stuart, do
 Joshua Swan, do
 Barney Swan, do
 Zadock St John, do
 James St John, do
 Micajah Swyer 3 co do
 David Sweet, 4 co. do
 Griffin Sweet, do

David Sweet, jun. do
 Nathaniel F. Seeley,—
Ballston.

Erastus Smith, do
 Peter Secoy, do
 Nathaniel Seeley, do
 Bradford Sherwood, do
 Jesse Seeley, do
 William Stillwell, do
 James Scott, do
 Dirck Swart, esq. *Still-*
water.

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 William Shipman: do
 Samuel Sturges, do
 Lewis Seymour, do
 Philip H. Schuyler, do
 Danforth Shumway, M.
 D. do

William Seymour, do
 Timothy Shipman, do
 Silvanus Sayles, do
 James Seeley do
 William Strang, do
 John Strahan, do
 Charles Stuart, do
 John Salisbury, do
 John S. Scofield, *Green-*
field.

Elnathn Scofield, do
 Ebenezer Stebbins, do
 Caleb Sherman, do
 Ezra Sabin, do
 Miles Sillick, do
 Eli Smith, *Galway,*

- Elijah E. Smith, do
 Robert Sherar, do
 Avery Starkweather, do
 Eleazer Smith, do
 Barnet Stillwell, do
 Asher Smith, do
 Darius Smead, *Provi-
dence.*
 Jonathan Shipman, do
 Henry Skinner, do
 William Starkland, do
 Stephen Sherman, do
 Amos Stafford, *Sarato-
ga.*
 Rev. Samuel Smith, *A.
M.* do
 Andrew Sprague, do
 Andrew Stewart, do
 John Scott, *Charlton.*
 Jacob L. Sherwood, do
 Amos Sherwood, do
 Isaac Smith, jun. do
 Frederick Sammon,—
Johnston.
 Joel Strong, *Schaghti-
cote.*
 Frederick Spalding, *Sci-
pio.*
 Eli Sprague, *North-
ampton.*
 John Spencer, *Worcester*
 Israel Spencer, do
 Joel Spencer, do
 Samuel Scovil, *North-
umberland.*
 Amasa Scovil, do
 William H. Stevens, do
 Frederick Smith, do
 Holly St John, do
 David Schaubert, *Half-
moon.*
 Edward Slead, *Broad-
albin.*
 Henry Smith, *Cam-
bridge.*
 Abel Speary, *Pittstown.*
 Isaac Smith, *Schenecta-
dy.*
 Wm. Smith, *Litchfield.*
 Reuben Spencer, do
 Silas Stephens, do
 Richard Smith, do
 Francis Smiley, *M. D.*
 do
 John Shaw, *Whitehall.*
 Ebenezer Simons, do
 Moses Savage, *Gran-
ville.*
 Jeremiah Spicer, do
 Zachariah Sill, do
 Zeri Skinner, *Middle-
town.*
 John Sunderland, do
 Isaac Stephens, do
 Caleb Smith, do
 Josiah Seamons, *Hart-
ford.*
 Martin Salisbury, do
 Isaac Southworth, *Rut-
land.*

Ethan A. Sherwood do
Peter Shaft, jun. *Fair-*
field.

Rufus Shepherd, do.
Martin G. Schureman,
Ulster County.

Daniel Stratton, *Thur-*
man.

Richard A. Stratton, do
Silas Sheffield, 24 co do

T

Earl Taber, *Providence.*

Stephen Thomas, do

Jonathan Taber, do

Hon. John Thompson,
esq. Representative in
Congress, *Stillwater.*

Obadiah Tomkins, do

Jonathan Thompson, do

Afa Tiffany, do

Jesse Traves, *Galway.*

Nathan Tanner, do

Elias Tallman, *Milton.*

Abraham Thomas, do

Daniel Thomas, do

Thomas Talmage, do

Ezra Taft, *Schaghticoke*

John Thompson, *Worce-*
ster.

Elias Twist, *Combridge.*

Isaac Townsend, *Litch-*
field.

Theophilus Tracy, *Gran-*
ville.

Joseph Tanner, do

Aaron Thrall, esq. *Rut-*
land.

Chauncey Thrall, do

John Toms, do

John Taylor, Esq.—
Charlton.

Ziba Taylor, esq. *Sara-*
toga.

Norman Trumbull,—
Thurman.

Ebenezer Talman, M.
D. do

Asaph Twichell, do

Wright Tryon, *Ballston*

Col. James Talmage,
12 co. *Poughkeepsie.*

U

William Underwood,—
Litchfield.

V

John Vannest, *Milton.*

Aaron Van De Bogart,
Fairfield.

Peter Van De Bogart,
do

W

David Woodworth,—
Stillwater.

Reuben Wright, do

Stephen Winston, do

Amasa Wood, do

Foster Whitford, do

Thomas Wha, do

William West, do

Caleb Watson, do

U

Benjamin Wing, do
 John Wilson, do
 Samuel Wood, do
 Elijah Walbridge, *Mil-*
ton.

Afa Williams, do
 Henry Whitlock, do
 Sanford Wood, do
 William Williamson, do
 Miss Sarah Wallice, do
 David Woods, do
 Samuel Wood, do
 John Whitehead do,
 Jacob Weed, do
 Jacob Weed, jun. do
 John Wilson, *Ballston.*
 Edmond Wilkins, do
 Jonah Wood, do
 Halfey Wood, do
 Benjamin Wood, *Green-*
field.

Luke Williams, do
 Josiah S. Weld do
 Charles Williams, do
 Isaac Waters, do
 Reuben Weed, do
 Zopher S. Wheeler, do
 Ira Wade, *Schenactedy.*
 Jonas Wheeler, *Galway.*
 Ephraim Williams, do
 James Warrin, Esq. Re-
 presentative in As-
 sembly, do
 John Wiser, *Amsterdam.*

Stephen Wait, Esq.—
Providence.

Sanford White, do
 Lewis Wicks, *Charlton:*
 Stephen Wolverton, do
 Edward Wright, *Wor-*
cester.

John F. Williams, M.
D. Northumberland.
 Hezekiah^h Warner,—
Mayfield.

Lewis Walker, *Claren-*
don.

Simon Walker, do
 Ephraim Wilmoth,—
Shaftsbury.

Judah Warden, do
 Isaac Webb, *Hoosick-*
falls.

Robert Wilcox, *Cam-*
bridge.

John Warren, *Halfmoon*
 Daniel Washbourn,—
Northumberland.

John Weed, *Saratoga.*

Isaac Walker, do
 Nathaniel Wallace, do
 James Weeber, do
 Austin Watrous, *Gran-*
velle.

Ezra Walker, do
 David Ward, *Wells.*
 Gamaliel Ward, *Mid-*
dletown.

Nathan Walton, do

Archelaus Wallings,—
Hartford.

Simeon Wright, *Rut-*
land.

Jonathan Whipple, do

David Whipple, do

Ebenezer Warren,—
Hampton.

Obadiah Webster, do

Gideon Warren, do

Robert Waddle, *Thur-*
man.

Benjamin Wells, do

Y

Thomas Young, *Ball-*
ston.

ADDITIONAL NAMES.

A

Peter Allard, *Milton.*

Winslow Allard, do

B

Josiah Burnum, *Milton.*

Reuben Brace, *North-*
amptou.

Isaac Brown, do

John Benedict, jun.—
Greenfield.

Benjamin Benedict, do

Peter Baker, *Saratoga.*

C

Aaron Cady, *Chatham.*

D

Afa Darling, *Fairfield.*

Charles Deming, *Still-*
water.

Ephraim Dunham, do

F

Joseph Froast, *Ballston.*

G

Aaron Guion, *Broadal-*
bin.

H

Elkani Holmes, M. G.

6 co. *New-York.*

Daniel Hull, *North-*
ampton.

Richard Huyck, do

K

Shubel Kelly, *Schooduck.*

L

Peter Lockwood, *Charl-*
ton.

Elnathan Lacy, *North-*
ampton.

Samuel Lyon, *Halfmoon*

Amos Larkin, *Ballston.*

M

Josiah Miller, *Halfmoon*

N

Aaron Nash, *Ballston.*

O

Thomas Ostrander,—
Saratoga.

P

John Price, *Fairfield.*

S
Nehemiah Seeley,——
Ballston.

Reuben Sears, do
Samuel Satterlee, do
Silas Seymore, *Milton.*

Alexander Smith,——
Charlton.

Elias Scofield, *Green-*
field.

Gelhom Saxton, *Sara-*
toga.

Nathaniel Saxton, do

T

John Thompson, *Fair-*
field.

Azehabel Thompson,——
Thurman.

U

Jesse Umsted, *North-*
ampton.

W

Alexander Willson,——
Ballston.

William Wells, *North-*
ampton.

Josiah Whitman, do

Jesse White, *Fairfield.*

Joseph Weeb, *Greenfield*

Y

Capt. Frederick Young,
Ballston.

✂ Sundry Subscription Papers circulated in dif-
ferent parts, on several of which a considerable num-
ber of Subscribers have been procured, were not re-
turned when the printing of this book was complet-
ed.

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